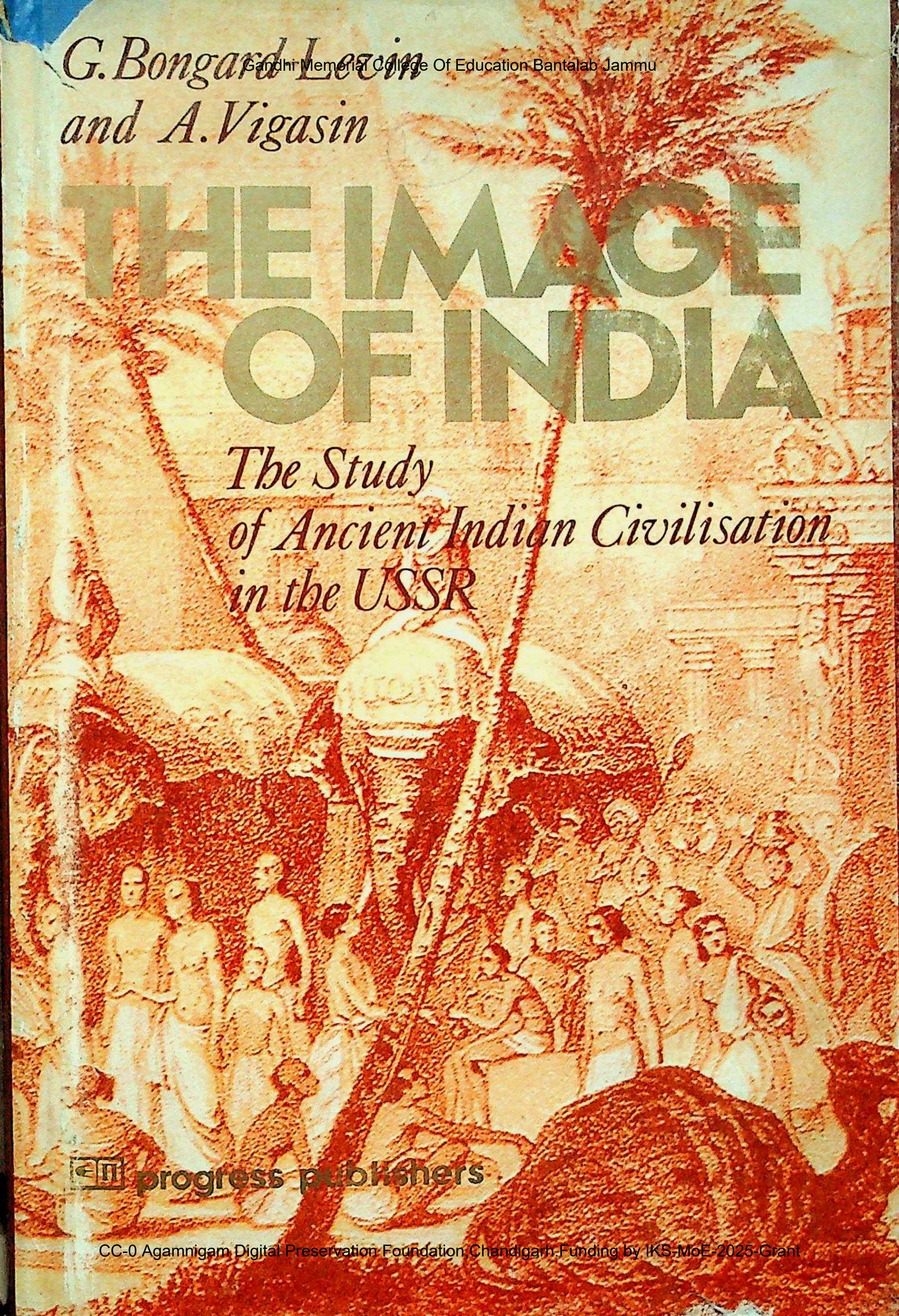
G. Bongard-Levin
and A. Vigasin

# THE IMAGE OF INDIA

## *The Study of Ancient Indian Civilisation in the USSR*



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75

*G. Bongard-Levin*
*and*
*A. Vigasin*

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## *The Study of Ancient Indian Civilisation in the USSR*

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**ОБРАЗ ИНДИИ**

**Изучение древнеиндийской цивилизации в СССР**

*На английском языке*

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# CONTENTS

119

From the Authors . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 7

Chapter I

The Image of India Among the Peoples of Russia up to the End of the 18th Century . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 13

1. The Image of India in Ancient Rus . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 14
2. Knowledge of India in 18th-Century Russia . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 34
3. Cultural Contacts with India of the Central Asian and Transcaucasian Peoples . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 45

Chapter II

The Study of Ancient Indian Civilisation in Russia (19th-early 20th Centuries) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 60

1. Sanskrit Studies in Russia in the Early Half of the 19th Century . . . . . . 60
2. Ivan Minayev—Founder of Russian Indology . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 82
3. Indological Studies in Russia at the End of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 97

Chapter III

Sergei Oldenburg, Outstanding Indologist and Prominent Organiser of Science . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 109

Chapter IV

The Scholarly Activity of Fyodor Shcherbatskoy—an Epoch in World Buddhology . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 126

Chapter V

Main Stages of Indological Research in the USSR . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 144

1. Indology in the 1920s-1930s . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 147
2. Postwar Years (mid-1940s to mid-1950s) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 156
3. Contemporary Indology . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 161

Chapter VI

Ancient Indian Civilisation in the Light of New Archaeological Excavations in Soviet Central Asia . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 188

Indian Manuscripts in Soviet Collections . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 237

Conclusion . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 243

Bibliography . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 246

Name Index . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 267

# FROM THE AUTHORS

This book—*The Image of India*—is devoted to the history of the study of ancient India and its culture in the USSR from early times and up to the present day.

The history of relations between India and the peoples that have lived in what is the territory of the USSR goes back to ancient times. New researches by Soviet archaeologists have given convincing proof that close cultural relations between the peoples of Central Asia and India already existed as far back as the period of the Harappan civilisation and continued to develop over succeeding ages.

There are many references to India, the customs, beliefs and traditions of her peoples and their culture in ancient Russian literature. The image of India as a country of wealth, wisdom and wonders gradually took shape. Although this image is to be found in almost all West and East European, and Middle Eastern literatures of the Middle Ages, it acquired a number of distinctive features in literary texts of ancient Rus, especially in Russian folklore. Descriptions of India in ancient Russian literature do not always reflect direct contacts between the two countries, they are rather a handing-on of a written literary tradition going back to the distant past.

Afanasy Nikitin's famous journey (1471-1474) played an important role in setting up direct contacts between Russia and India. Knowledge of India gradually began to be based on actual acquaintance with the country and the culture of its peoples. It is significant that Nikitin's description of India was incorporated in the Sofiiskaya Chronicle, this testifying to the keen interest in India that existed in Rus, the urge to give special importance to the fact of a Russian's first-hand knowledge of India.

Not only Russians but also many other peoples of the multinational Soviet land have an ancient tradition of cultural relationships with India.

There were very ancient ties between the peoples of India and Transcaucasia. It is known, for example, that there were Armenian trading posts in India and that in ancient Georgia the Indian *Pancatantra* enjoyed enormous popularity. One should also mention Rafail Danibegashvili, a Georgian, who made several journeys to India. An Indian temple was built near Baku (the present-day capital of Azerbaijan) which used to be thronged by a multitude of pilgrims from India. The Ossetians, one of the nationalities in the Caucasus, are closely related, linguistically, with the Indo-Aryans—creators of the Vedas.

It is impossible to list even the main aspects of the close relations of the nationalities and peoples of Central Asia with India. The works of the great Central Asian scholar al-Biruni constituted a brilliant episode in the history of the cultural ties. He knew Sanskrit and has left us a priceless work on the culture of India in ancient times and in the early Middle Ages.

Buryatia is connected with India through Buddhism and it is impossible to understand its culture without reference to the Indian heritage; at the same time Tibetan and Mongolian texts, stored in Buddhist monasteries in Buryatia, are of primary importance for Indologists. Kalmykia, which Buddhism had reached in the 17th century, is also connected with Indian culture.

The peoples of the Volga region were long ago the connecting link between Rus and India. From the 17th to the 19th centuries there was an extensive colony of Indian traders in Astrakhan. In the Northern Black Sea areas archaeologists and linguists are finding traces not only of Aryan (Indo-Iranian) tribes but also of tribes who were ancestors of the Indo-Aryans. Subsequently the Byzantine-Bulgarian influence came to Rus via the territory of the Ukraine, and stories about India and motifs of Indian origin began to appear. Some of the nationalities of the Baltic region (Lithuanians and Latvians) have a common origin with the Indians: they belong to the peoples of the Indo-European family of languages.

In 18th-century Russia the medieval picture of the world was being broken down and a new image of India, closer to reality, took shape. The great Russian scholar, Mikhail Lomonosov, came out for the opening of a Northern Sea Route from Russia to India. A large number of articles condemning British policy in India appeared in Russian journals at the end of the 18th century. The remarkable Russian revolutionary Alexander Radishchev violently protested against the activities of the East India Company. Anti-colonial ideas and sympathy for the Indian people were expressed in the advanced Russian current affairs writings of the time. A lively interest in India, respect for her ancient culture and sympathy for her people characterise the activity of one of the pioneers of Russian Indology Gerasim Lebedev.

A Russian translation of the *Bhagavadgita* was published in Russia in 1788, and although it was a translation from English it nevertheless was the beginning of a first-hand knowledge of ancient Indian literature and culture among Russians. In 1792 the well-known Russian writer and historian Nikolai Karamzin translated the *Shakuntala* by Kalidasa. He wrote: "Kalidasa is for me just as great as Homer." This enthusiastic attitude towards Indian culture was to be found among Russian writers in later times too. Sanskrit, or as it was called in Europe the "Brahmin language", began to be studied in Russia in the 18th century. By the middle of the 19th century an independent area of Oriental studies—Sanskrit studies—began to take shape. The works of Friedrich Adelung, Pavel Petrov and Kaetan Kossovich, which laid a firm foundation for the development of scientific research into the ancient culture of India, her literature, languages and religion, were of particular importance.

Russian Indology did not grow directly from the descriptions of "wealthy and wondrous India" in ancient Russian literature but at the same time in scholarly historiography of the new period one can frequently notice an involuntary reflection of that traditional image of the country which developed in the "pre-scholarly period".

Ivan Minayev is justly considered to be the founder of scholarly Indology in Russia. An outstanding Indologist and scholar of Buddhism, he founded the school of Russian Indology.

One must particularly mention Leo Tolstoy who had a lifelong interest in

Indian culture, read many ancient Indian works—Buddhist classics, among them the *Lalitavistara*, epic poems, such as the *Gita*, the philosophical works by Shankara and others. After reading the hymns of the *Rigveda* Tolstoy wrote that "the hymns of the Vedas convey very high sentiments". As is well known, Tolstoy knew Minayev personally, and was familiar with his major work *Buddhism*. Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi were bound by a deep mutual interest and sympathy, and the latter regarded Tolstoy as his teacher. Tolstoy's works have always been very popular in India and he has greatly influenced the work of many Indian writers. Jawaharlal Nehru said that Leo Tolstoy was one of those European writers whose name and works are the best known in India. The great proletarian writer Maxim Gorky did much to bring Russian and Indian literatures and their cultures as a whole closer. As early as 1912 he wrote: "We must acquaint our peoples with one another so that all who thirst for justice, who want to live in accord with reason may realise their unity, the community of their aims and spirit and by their joint efforts overcome all the evil in the world."

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which had considerable influence on India, marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of Russo-Indian relations. Radical changes were taking place in Oriental studies and the development of Indology was given a new impulse. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin played a major role in the establishing of Soviet Oriental studies, and, in particular, of Indology. Documents of those days contain a rich store of material telling of the assistance given by the Soviet state and by Lenin personally to the development of a wide programme of studies of Eastern countries, including India.*

In the 1920s and 1930s a series of important works on Indology was published, primarily those of Fyodor Shcherbatskoy (Theodore Stcherbatsky), a recognised authority on the study of ancient Indian literature, philosophy and religion. The USSR Academy of Sciences was the main centre of Indological research, and the publications of Soviet scholars were highly appreciated in India. Rabindranath Tagore expressed gratitude for the activities of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the preservation of relics of the Indian cultural heritage. He considered the Academy's role to be beyond measure for India.

Soviet Indologists are carefully preserving and developing the best traditions of Russian scholarship in the study of ancient Indian civilisation. A large number of works on the history and culture of ancient India have appeared in the USSR over the past three decades as well as Russian translations of ancient Indian texts. Not only Indological research became deeper, but new centres for the study of Sanskrit, and Indian history, culture and religions (primarily of Buddhism) also appeared. Relations with Indian scholars are becoming stronger and there are frequent joint symposia on various questions in the ancient history of India. The scale of Indological research is determined not only by the constantly strengthening friendship and cooperation of the two countries but also by the ever growing interest in the USSR in India, in her ancient culture.

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* The outstanding Indologist Sergei Oldenburg met with Lenin several times. During one of these meetings the head of the Soviet state stressed the necessity of spreading knowledge about India among the broad strata of the population.

Both Indian scholars and wide circles of Indian society also show great interest in the works of Soviet Indologists. Books and articles by Soviet Indologists are published in India where they have won a high appraisal. All these circumstances prompted the authors to write this book. Russian and Soviet Indology is an extremely broad, many-faceted discipline, one that goes far beyond the bounds of this work, which is devoted mainly to the study in the USSR over the ages of ancient Indian civilisation.

The book is an endeavour to give a description of the information about India to be found in medieval Russian literature, reveal the sources of Indology, and show how the image of India was formed in Russia. In view of the enormous importance of the works of Minayev, Oldenburg and Shcherbatskoy for the development of world Indology special chapters have been devoted to their scholarly activities. The history of the emergence and development of Soviet Indology is given in general outline.

The book also contains fairly wide information on contemporary Soviet Indology, its concepts, achievements as well as the problems now under discussion, and also deals with relations of Soviet and Indian scholars. Particular attention has been paid to those Soviet researches which contribute new material to science. This refers primarily to the study of archaeological finds from Central Asia and the publication of Indian manuscripts from the USSR manuscript collections.

At present the need for historiographic surveys is being felt ever more sharply: it is not only that the number of scientists and scholarly centres and of their publications is constantly increasing, but that this, in its turn, produces the necessity for full information and co-ordination of research. No less important are surveys illuminating the path already covered by science so that future fields may be more clearly seen. Historiography affords a general picture of research works and reveals the specific questions which should be discussed and solved. Indologists have already recognised the need for such historiographic surveys and it is no accident that in recent decades works such as the collection of articles under the editorship of C. H. Philips, entitled *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* and a number of similar studies, primarily by Indian scholars, have appeared. Reviews by the well-known Indian scholars—V. Raghavan on the development of Sanskrit studies in different countries, and P. N. Dandekar's *Vedic Bibliography*, in which the researches of Soviet Indologists are also mentioned, have won wide recognition. Historiography has particular importance for Indology in connection with the specific character of Indian sources. Too much in ancient Indian studies is still based on suppositions and hypotheses. Certain assertions are repeated as established facts and appear in one book after another, although the hypotheses or general concepts on which they rely have long since been criticised or even refuted. In order to dispel many of these old "myths" it is essential to have a clear picture of the development of historiography.

Historical science does not exist in isolation. It is not only the process of accumulating knowledge but also a struggle of ideas. It is a part of a country's cultural life. Various influences are at work on historiography—philosophy and politics, literature and the arts, the general spiritual climate of the age and the specific "national spirit". National schools of historiography are characterised by interest in separate fields of science, the formulation of research problems, and, at times, by ways of finding their solutions. The traditions of such schools turn out to be very persistent. Continuity in the development of historiography is occasionally broken but traditions are preserved, and have a tendency to revive on one and the same or similar foundations. The study of national schools is in this sense not only interesting but very fruitful and scientifically important.

Unfortunately, the history of Indology in Russia is still not sufficiently well known. Many valuable works by Russian Indologists are not always accessible to scholars in Europe and India as a result of language difficulties, although, for example, some of Minayev's works have been published in French, those of Shcherbatskoy and his pupils in English, and some 19th-century Indologists wrote in German. In spite of the fact that Ernst Windisch's well-known historiographic work *A History of the Studies of Sanskrit and Ancient India* took into account many national schools of Indology, the works of Russian Indologists are given little space; moreover, the book is very much out of date, illuminating only the early stages of Indology. Undoubtedly the history of Russian and Soviet Indology deserves detailed description. Russian Indology's contribution to world science was important. It had its own, distinctive character and its general approach to India differed in many aspects from the West European one, which is explained by the special features in the development of social thought in Russia. Beginning with the 18th-century Russian Enlighteners, leading figures in Russian culture were opposed to the official policy and ideology. In 19th-century Russia science developed along the channel of liberal and democratic thinking. Colonialist ideas were quite uncharacteristic of Russian Oriental studies as a whole, and the concepts of racialism and clericalism were almost completely absent. Typical features of the Russian school of Indology were a historical approach to research into ancient Indian civilisation, deep respect for the peoples of India and sincere sympathy for the national liberation struggle of the Indians against colonialism. Particular importance was given to the study of India as a country inhabited by peoples who were close to Russians in language, and, to a certain extent, in culture. The best traditions of classical Russian Oriental studies were taken over and developed in Soviet science, based on the principles of the Marxist theory of the historical process.

At the present time the relations between the Soviet Union and India, based as they are on principles of good-neighbourliness and co-operation, serve to strengthen peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world. Soviet Indologists are carrying out the noble task of a deep and objective study of the great civilisation of a friendly nation. Close relations between the countries envisage a broad exchange of scientific information in many fields, including history and culture.

The present book, which aims to sum up in general terms the path traversed by Indology in the USSR, has been written to show what had been done in Russia before the October Revolution and what is being done in the Soviet Union for the study of the history and culture of ancient India.

Bearing in mind the wide circle of readers (primarily in India), the authors have tried, as far as possible, not to overload the book with specific details, and to reproduce the material in a popular scientific way. For the reader who wishes to obtain additional special information or reasoning on separate problems, there is a detailed bibliography of works both in Russian and in West European languages.

In writing the book, along with the scholarly works of Indologists, the authors have made wide use of periodical publications, official reports from universities, scientific institutions and expeditions, and surveys of Indological research; archive material has also been drawn upon. The authors have previously also displayed interest in the history of USSR Indology and have publications on the subject which they have widely used when working on this book.

# Chapter I. The Image of India Among the Peoples of Russia up to the End of the 18th Century

According to many scholars, the territory originally settled by the Indo-Europeans included certain parts of what is now the Soviet Union. After the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) community took shape, Aryan tribes continued to inhabit regions which are now part of the USSR. Soviet archaeologists have thrown new light on problems connected with the migrations of peoples and, in particular, the appearance of Indo-Aryans in the north-western part of Hindustan. Comparative linguistic studies of Vedic Sanskrit and the languages of the Slav, Baltic and Iranian peoples is very fruitful at present. Community of origin and a long period of living together by the Indo-Aryans and the remote ancestors of the Slavs explain the closeness of Indian and Slav mythologies. Study of the culture of those peoples of the USSR whose languages belong to the Iranian group, for example the Ossetians, descendants of the ancient Sarmatians, provides a wealth of comparative material. In contemporary philological literature one may find arguments supporting the view that long ago there lived in the Northern Black Sea area, not only Iranian-speaking tribes, but, to all probability, also tribes belonging to the Indo-Aryan group (the works of the Soviet linguist Professor Oleg Trubachov provide an example). According to him a whole series of names of ancient Black Sea regions have a great deal in common, which can be explained by Indian onomastic data (for example, the locality near Khersones in the Crimea called "Dandake", and the Indian "Dandaka", the Scythian names Butonatos and Magadava, and the Indian Bhutanatha and Mahadeva, etc.). He even considers it possible to seek "the beginnings of Hinduistic faiths" in the period when the "Indo-Aryans inhabited the Black Sea regions", and speaks of the "intensive cultural and ethnic ties" and "bilateral communication" between the Black Sea regions and India in the distant past. In any case, the origin of the Indo-Aryans is bound up with the pre-history of what is now the European part of the USSR and with that of some regions of Central Asia. Incidentally, the latter maintained relations with India as far back as the pre-Aryan (Harappan) period, of which the excavations in Southern Turkmenia, in particular, provide evidence.

Comparatively little is known of the relations between India and other countries in the remote past, but nevertheless there can be no doubt about her close links with the regions which are now a part of the territory of the Soviet Central Asian Republics. Vigorous trade routes were laid, states were formed which included both Indian and Central Asian regions. Most significant among them during the first centuries A.D. was the Kushana state.

In the time preceding the Moslem period, India exerted great influence on the material and spiritual culture of Central Asia.

Through the Graeco-Roman culture a persistent image of India penetrated into the literature of various countries–Armenia, Georgia, Rus, etc., which is reflected in a large number of relics of the written and oral tradition of each people. Indian topics and traditions reached Eastern Europe via the literature of the Middle East, Byzantium and the Arab countries.

In the Middle Ages India maintained close trade, political and cultural relations with Central Asian regions, to some extent with Transcaucasia, and later on with ancient Rus also, where several Indian colonies were established. Starting with the 11th century, a part of the territory of India and Central Asia was for some time incorporated in the same states, therefore the cultures of these countries constantly exerted a strong mutual influence. Armenian merchants penetrated into India in early days, playing an important role in the late Middle Ages not only in the country's economic life but at times in its political life also. Beginning with the Middle Ages, many descriptions of India appeared in various languages of the peoples of Russia, including Russian. An image of India was gradually formed, interest in the country began to grow.

## I. The Image of India in Ancient Rus

Knowledge of India reached Rus by two routes: books and direct contacts with the East. It is difficult as yet to establish the existence of the latter, frequently this can be done only by means of fragmentary, indirect evidence; information derived from written sources is far richer.

References to India are found in the earliest relics of ancient Russian literature. In the first centuries after the conversion to Christianity a stream of Greek and Bulgarian books literally poured into Rus. It was due to translations of Christian literature that there appeared in Rus Indian names, topics and motifs, as well as notions of India, which had taken shape several centuries earlier in Byzantium. Byzantium in its turn had adopted information about India from the writings of the "Church Fathers", and the writers of the late Roman Empire in the 4th and 5th centuries, in which were interwoven fabulous legends from ancient Greek literature, extracts from the notes of participants of Alexander the Great's campaigns. Christian writers of those years were not only fascinated by the wonders of India and her religion but by the lives of the pious hermits and sages, the Brahmans and Shramanas, and legends of the conversion of India by St. Thomas. Information dating back to the period of active links between India and the Graeco-Roman world, to the time of Alexander's campaigns, to the heyday of the Kushana empire and active sea trade via the Arabian and Red seas, though distorted almost beyond recognition, reached Byzantium and later on Rus.

Original ancient Russian literature also developed, to a certain extent, under the influence of Byzantium. One of its oldest works–*The Sermon on Law and*

*Grace*, written in the first half of the 11th century by Ilarion, Metropolitan* of Kievan Rus, "a good and learned man much given to fasting", as he is described in the Chronicle,** mentions the baptism of India by St. Thomas. "The Deeds of Thomas", his building of a palace for the Indian ruler Gondophares and the latter's conversion to Christianity were very well known in pre-Mongol Rus.

The author of the most ancient Russian Chronicle—*The Chronicle of Times Past*—speaks about the distribution of nations over the Earth and of the "lot of Shem",*** from Persia and "as far as India". Describing the manners and customs of the "Bactrians, otherwise called Rahmans or Islanders", the chronicler records that out of piety "they do not eat meat or drink wine, fornicate or do any evil". He contrasts the Indians who lack all these virtues with the "Rahmans". Both extracts are obviously borrowed from the Byzantine chronicle of George the Monk, which was translated in Rus in the middle of the 11th century. Information on India and the Brahmans contained in it goes back to the period of late antiquity when the essay by Palladius *On the Races of India and the Brahmans* and its Latin translation by Ambrose appeared. Similar information is contained in another work, well known in Rus—the *Chronographia* of John Malalas.

A deep interest in what was surprising in nature, unusual animals, plants and stones, was characteristic of Byzantine Christian literature. Wonders were explained as symbols assisting the interpretation of the holy books of the Old and the New Testament, while animal life served as a kind of "symbolic mirror of man's spiritual world". Stories by the authors of ancient times about the wonders of India, sometimes supplemented with legends from Arab literature, became a most important source of the *Physiologus*, widespread in Europe in the Middle Ages. There were several variants of this ancient collection, among them the Greek, Syrian, Coptic, Ethiopian and Armenian. A symbolic interpretation of the fantastic descriptions of the animals and birds of India is to be found in the works of Clement of Alexandria, 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. (the story of the Phoenix). In his works we also find most valuable information on Buddhism in India and Bactria (including the territory of present-day Tajikistan). Reports of the strange animals of India are widespread in Byzantine books, devoted to explanation of the Old Testament and a description of the Universe according to Biblical cosmogony. The most important works of this kind, which served as a sort of encyclopaedia for Christians, were the *Book of Six Days* of Basil the Great and the *Six Days* of Ioannes, Exarch of Bulgaria, which were among the first books to appear in Rus. The *Physiologus* and similar works had an enormous influence on Russian ideas about India and other far-off countries up to the 17th century. We meet these ideas in the first place in literature, but also in art and oral tradition.

Stories about the marvellous bird from India, the Phoenix, which lived near the "Sun-City" (Heliopolis), were particularly popular in Rus. The tales affirmed that the Phoenix lay without food in a tree, the cedar of Lebanon, for five hundred years, and then, induced by the priests of Heliopolis, set fire to itself. The *Physiologus* contains many fabulous stories of the Indian "ant-lion" (whose front half is that of a lion and rear that of an ant), of the kite which in India extracts the "quick-birth" stone (easing childbirth), of the mythical bird Strafil (ostrich) and the curing stone with the help of which "cunning doctors" remove the "foul fluid". India is frequently mentioned in the literature of the Middle Ages, although the information about it is often very far from reality. Incidentally, under the fantastic covering one may occasionally find echoes of reliable information about the strange animal world of India and also about Indian medical knowledge.

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* Metropolitan—the head of the Christian Church in 10th-12th century Kievan Rus.

** Chronicle—historical tales of ancient Rus, usually in the form of annals.

*** According to Biblical sources, countries settled by the descendants of Shem, the eldest son of Noah.

The surprising animal world of India, abounding not only in real elephants and one-horned rhinoceroses, but also in fantastic "wild boar-elephants", "ant-lions", "nasi-horns" and similar wonders, was placed before the reader in the *Christian Topography* by Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th century) also, evidently, translated in Rus already during the Kievan period and subsequently gaining wide spread. This work, written in dispute with the Graeco-Roman theories of the Cosmos, contained an account of the Christian ideas of the Universe. In the descriptions of different countries, one can occasionally see reflections of accounts of travellers, in particular on India. A considerable number of the manuscripts of the *Christian Topography* have come down to us, and many are illustrated.

The *Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph* enjoyed popularity in 12th-century Rus. It is well known that the *Romance* is a transposition of the legendary biography of Buddha, and the name Joasaph comes from the Indian word "bodhisattva" (via the form Budasph). The legend of Buddha was widespread in many regions of Central Asia in the first centuries A.D. It was popular among the Manichaeans in the middle of the first millennium. Mention of the *Romance* goes back to the 6th-7th centuries when it was recorded in Pehlevi at the command of the famous ruler of the Sassanid dynasty, Khusro Anushirvan (he displayed considerable interest in Indian culture, and during his reign, according to legend, the fables of the *Pancatantra* were translated and Indian chess–*shatrang**–appeared in Iran). The Pehlevi version of the *Romance* was subsequently lost, but an Arab translation, made in the 8th century, has survived. A Greek version appeared just a little later and has been ascribed to the famous Byzantine theologian of the 7th-8th centuries John of Damascus. The text of the *Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph* was translated into Latin, Ethiopian, Slavic and many West European languages. The *Romance* tells of the Indian prince's rejection of earthly blessings and temptations and his turning to a different, better world and retreat into the desert. The hermit Barlaam and the Indian prince Joasaph were canonised by both Western and Eastern churches.

In Rus, subsequently, a religious poem was composed about Joasaph to become one of the most popular. Some versions of this poem reproduce in detail the motif of the *Romance*, telling of the meeting of the son of the Indian ruler Abner, with the "blind, leprous and toothless venerable old man". The youth, hearing of the "grief of the people", "began to lament, and to talk of the unhappy life of the people", and then "himself put on monastic robes ... an voluntarily became one of the destitute". Other versions merely contai Joasaph's conversation with the hermit, that is to say, his lamentation, praye or praise for the hermit. To the question: "Yasakhvy, for whom are yo abandoning your kingdom?" the prince replies: "The beautiful mother-hermitage, it is my temporary kingdom, but the Kingdom of Heaven is eternal." Thus one of the finest examples of Russian religious verse goes back to the *Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph*, and in the end is a reflection of the Indian legend of the Buddha. The 1681 edition of the *Romance* has engravings by the remarkable 17th-century Russian artist Simon Ushakov. One of the earliest performances in the Russian court theatre at the beginning of the 18th century also reproduced the *Romance*. This motif, basically Indian in origin, inspired such well-known Russian poets of the 19th century as Vasily Zhukovsky and Apollon Maikov.

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* Original Indian name *chaturanga*–four parts; initially it was a game played by fou persons.

A definite Indian literary influence can also be felt in a number of other works of folk literature, in particular in the famous religious verse *Dove-Book (Golubinaya kniga)*, in which are posed, in the main, questions of a cosmogonic character: where did the Earth appear from, how many parts went to create Adam, and so on. In the answers to these questions one can feel the influence of such works as the *Physiologus* and *The Story of the Indian Kingdom*. But the lines in some variants of this religious verse dealing with the origin of people are particularly interesting: "The rulers in our world came from the sacred head of Adam; the princely boyars from the sacred body of Adam; orthodox peasants from the sacred feet of Adam." These lines from the *Dove-Book* are reminiscent of lines from the *Purushasukta*—the famous hymn of the *Rigveda* on the origins of the *varnas*, which have frequently attracted the attention of researchers. Initially the view prevailed that Russian religious verse preserved a common Indo-European or a common Aryan (Indo-Iranian) mythological tradition. However, taking into account the literary origins of Russian religious verse, one may suggest that the Indian myth reached Rus from the West, via a whole series of literary intermediaries. The migration of Indian literary motifs and their penetration into Rus have been researched in detail by the famous 19th-century Russian scholar Alexander Veselovsky and his pupils. Apparently the sources of the *Dove-Book* must be sought among the texts of Bulgarian apocryphal writings which appeared in Rus in about the 10th century. A number of them contained Bogomil ideas widespread in Bulgaria at that time. Such relics of apocryphal literature, well known in Rus, as *The Conversation of Three Prelates*, *The Questions of Joannes the Theologian to God on Mount Tabor*, *The Jerusalem Discourse*, were similarly devoted basically to cosmogonic questions. Some of their ideas can be traced back to the apocryphal *Book of St. John* and other works of the first centuries of Christianity, and they developed under the strong influence of Gnostic and Manichaean religion and in the 9th and 10th centuries were disseminated among the Bogomils.

The famous Indian text on the origins of the castes (*varnas*) most probably reached Russian folklore tradition initially with the help of the Iranian Manichaeans and Christian heretics of the first centuries A.D. and then through Byzantine literature and Bulgarian Bogomils. Thus Indian literary motifs and stories penetrated into Rus by two paths: from the West and through Iran. It would probably be no exaggeration to say that the ease with which "Indian evidence" was accepted in Rus, is explained in no small degree by ethnic, linguistic and cultural closeness and long-standing relations between the Slav-Russian population of Eastern Europe and the Aryan (Indian and Iranian) peoples.

India is mentioned in a number of ecclesiastical Slavonic texts. A description of the life of the Brahmans or "blessed" people was very popular in Byzantine and old-Bulgarian literatures of the 10th-13th centuries. The *Narrative of Macarius of Rome*, for example, told of the journey of three youths to India, to the country of the "blessed", who live in a cave close to paradise itself, go about "naked" and "have white hair". The description of the "blessed" themselves and the surrounding countries (on one side of them the canine-headed, and on the other the iron city beyond which lies paradise itself) is reminiscent of the description of the life of the Brahmans in late Graeco-Roman literature which served as a source for the *Narrative*.

One more work of a similar kind, well known in Rus, is the *Visit of Zosima to the Rahmans*. Knowledge of the naked wise men (Rahmans), taken from ancient Greek writers, is here fantastically interwoven with reports about Biblical Rechabites. Much is determined by the fact that the Rahmans inhabit the edge of the world, near the earthly paradise, and are therefore idealised. The influence of romances about Alexander the Great and stories about the "blessed" Brahmans is also felt in the *Narrative of Methodius of Patara*. The location of the lands of the Brahmans is often quite fantastic—at the edge of the world—but Indian animals are to be found there too. Similar literature was also widespread in Western Europe.

The dissemination of essays on the life of the blessed Indian Rahmans was connected with theological polemics and the struggle of ideas in medieval Russia. Proceeding from the tales about the Brahmans, the Archbishop of Novgorod Vasily Kalika in a letter to Bishop Fyodor set out to prove the existence of paradise on Earth. In the 15th century the Russian writer Yefrosin composed, on the basis of the chronicles by George the Monk and other sources, *A Narrative of the Rahmans and Their Amazing Life*. He emphasised the piety of the Rahmans, who knew not greed. This was an important problem for Russian social and political writers, as in Rus at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, a sharp dispute had taken place over the question of monastic property and the greed of monks. Yefrosin writes of the Rahmans that they have "neither iron nor temples, nor gold, nor wine, they eat no meat, have no ruler, no buying, they live naked, eat a few vegetables, drink sweet water, ardently believe in God and pray continuously". A prominent 16th-century ecclesiastical writer Maxim the Grek, on the contrary, wrote about the "false wisdom of the Rahmans".

Under the influence of Christian writers, stories of the Brahmans, or as they were called in ancient Russian works Rahmans, evidently received wide circulation. Tales of the Christians, Rahmans who lived far beyond the seas—even under the earth, were long current in Southern Rus and the Ukraine. Judging by these tales the Rahmans had no calendar and celebrated Easter when the shells of Easter eggs cast into the water reached them. In Galicia there even appeared sayings like: "We fast like Rahmans", "On the Rahmans' great day", that is Easter Day. In the Ukrainian language the word "rahman" came to mean a righteous Christian and a pauper and in the Kaluga and Smolensk regions the adjective "rahmany" is to be found, meaning "meek, simple-hearted, strange". According to some scholars, the Rahleiskoye kingdom of Saltan mentioned in Russian fabulous tales ("Of Bova the Prince", "Of Yegory the Brave") originally read "Rahmanskoye", i.e. the kingdom of the Rahmans.

There was no exact image of India in the Middle Ages, but on the basis of information gathered from Graeco-Roman literature, medieval authors created their own image of India, a fabulous land, inhabited by righteous people. It is interesting to note that in their description of India they also introduced those features which are found in reports of wonders and righteous people in other countries. All the knowledge they had of India they approximated to Old Testament traditions and gave them a Christian flavour. "Christianisation" of the image of India was quite widespread in the Middle Ages and had some influence on later literature too.

*The Story of the Indian Kingdom...* played an important part in the formation of ideas on India in Rus. It is based on the story of a letter, allegedly sent by the Indian priest-king (prester) John to the Greek ruler Manuel Comnenus. The "Letter" appeared in Greek in the middle of the 12th century and was then translated into Latin. It was no accident that it appeared precisely in the 12th century, the period of the Crusades. Europe was displaying great interest in the wealth of the East and there were widespread hopes that in those distant countries, among the "infidels", there existed a powerful Christian kingdom. Despite the fact that some medieval chroniclers had already pointed out a number of oddities contained in the "Letter" (for example, the chronicle by Alberic in 1165), Europeans took the "Letter" seriously. In 1177 Pope Alexander III even sent an embassy to Prester John. The Russian version of Prester John's letter appeared early in the 13th century. In Rus the "Letter" was called: *The Story of the Indian Kingdom, of the great and famous state and all its wonders: how great its territory is, how many wonders and treasures there are there and what its people, animals, birds and all sorts of jewels are like*. The *Story* included legends about the far-off, fabulously rich country of India, where lived a bird which built its nest on fifteen oak-trees, where there were "wild elephants, unicorns, aurochs with golden horns, camels and all kinds of ferocious beasts". It was a country where people, with eyes in their chest, were winged and had six arms (this possibly is an interpretation of iconography of Shiva), the rivers flowed from paradise itself and "pepper grew there and there was a precious stone called emerald" and "an abundance of everything", but "neither thief nor bandit nor envious person" were to be found. There was a palace in that distant realm built after the design of the palace erected by St Thomas for Gondophares. In the material in the *Story* about the unusual animals it is quite easy to discern a connection with the narratives of the physiologus literature and the Graeco-Roman descriptions of the wonders of India and other Eastern countries. Ancient and traditional ideas of India as a rich country have been supplemented by fantastic details, and the opinion of writers of the past about the justness of the Indians has been spread thanks to the influence of the literature about the pious and righteous people. The fantastic narrative is accompanied by a religious moral on the vanity of worldly blessings. Mysterious and far-off India is somehow brought closer to the Russian reader insofar as her ruler Ivan (John) turns out to be a Christian, even a believer of the Orthodox church.

The story *Alexandria (Alexander Romance)*, going back to the romance of Alexander by pseudo-Callisthenes, has an important place in ancient Russian literature. This romance, which appeared during the early centuries A.D., on the basis of notes by contemporaries of Alexander the Great and folklore legends, was one of the most popular medieval literary works both in the West and in the East. In every country the *Alexander Romance* became an integral part of that country's literature, during which process its motif, imagery and basic ideas were all changed. The description of Alexander's campaign to India: his battle with the Indian ruler Porus, his meetings and conversations with the Indian Brahmans and ascetics, had a most important role in the romance. The image of India, pictured in the romance, became an integral part of the general picture of the world. At the base of the fantastic images of *Alexandria* there frequently lay real events and reports from Alexander's comrades-in-arms of things they had seen and heard in India. Several versions of *Alexandria* existed in Rus, the earliest of which dates from the 11th-12th centuries. In the 13th century it became part of the collections of chronicles—chronographs. The text was later enlarged by the inclusion of excerpts from *The Story of the Indian Kingdom* and other sources. In its expanded form the text of *The Story* became part of the chronicles, known by the name of *The Hellenic and Roman Chronicler*. In the 15th century, in connection with the so-called second South-Slav influence, there appeared in Rus a new edition of *Alexandria*, the Serbian, which had been conceived in Southern Europe in the 14th century. It contained a detailed description of India, and many stories of its wonders—of bird-men and ants that could drag away a horse, of people with six arms and six legs, of Hercules and Queen Semiramis visiting India. Particular importance in the medieval *Alexandria* is attached to the description of the life of the Rahmans (Brahmans), who are not "burdened by sins, but live quietly close to the angels and bliss is sent upon them from God". The Rahmans live on the Islands of the Blessed in the middle of the ocean and are called "naked sages, because they have rid themselves of all passions". It is not difficult to see in these descriptions a close relationship with the Christian works on travels to the "country of the Rahmans" which we mentioned earlier. In the descriptions of the wealth of the mighty Indian King Porus, who battled with Alexander, one can sense the closeness of *Alexandria* and *The Story of the Indian Kingdom*. Reports in *Alexandria* of a country of riches, wonders and pious naked sages, living on islands near to the angels, had their effect on the formation of the image of India in ancient Russian literature.

*The Story* and *Alexandria* were also reflected in folklore tradition. The image of "rich India" became an integral element of Russian heroic epic poems (*bylinas*). The most famous is the *bylina* of the hero Duke Stepanovich who amazed the Kievan Prince Vladimir and his court by the wealth of his native land—India, just as the Indian King Ivan surprised the Greek ruler Manuel. India is also mentioned in the archaic *bylina* of Volkh Vsyeslavyevich conceived, evidently, in the pre-Mongol period. The famous hero of the Novgorod *bylinas*, the merchant Sadko, sets off to trade with India. In later *bylinas* of the 17th-18th centuries, the hero Mikhailo Potyk travels to India, "to Bukhar, ruler across the seas",* to collect tribute, and in one of the historical songs the Lithuanian prince is advised to go to "rich India". India and the Indian "Sun-City" (Heliopolis) are also mentioned in popular Russian tales, for example, in the tale of Yeruslan Lazarevich, and tales of India were becoming more and more widespread among the masses. As often happens with folklore, historical and geographical reality underlying the tales is eroded and conventionalised. In the *bylinas* India borders on Karela and Volhinia,** sometimes she is presented as a city not a state, and the heroes of the *bylinas* often have Russian names. For instance, Duke Stepanovich, who had come from India, is called the "Russian hero". The folklore image of India was close and familiar to the Russian people.

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* Evidently meant here is the Bukhara state, which is identified with the fabulous India.

** Regions of Northern Europe and South-Western Rus.

Yet another story of Indian origin appeared in Rus in the 15th century—*Stephanites and Ihnelates*, dating back to the *Pancatantra*. During the reign of the Sassanid king of Iran Khusro Anushirvan the *Pancatantra* was translated from Sanskrit into the Pehlevi language and later from Pehlevi into Arabic. It was given the title *Kalilah wa Dimnah*. In the 11th century, on the orders of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus it was translated into Greek by his court physician Simeon Sythos (probably a Syrian by descent). The Greek version was the basis for the appearance, soon afterwards, of versions in Latin and a number of West European languages. Later, a South-Slav version, based on the Greek version, appeared in the 13th century and quickly reached Rus. Thus the new translation was a revised version of the story. The ancient scribes used to make substantial changes in foreign texts, in accordance with the literary traditions of their own countries, and expanded or shortened them. The Greek version of the story included quotations from the Scripture and the works of ancient authors. Just like the Indian original, the European versions of the *Pancatantra*, including the old Russian story *Stephanites and Ihnelates*, were looked on as a "mirror", as "directions for human life". "An essay on vital matters, set forth in parables ... by an Indian philosopher on the inspiration of his Emperor", that is, the story *Stephanites and Ihnelates* was not just an entertaining work but a didactic one also. Like its original source, *Stephanites and Ihnelates* was close to such literature as the *Physiologus* (it was no accident that it bore the name "a physiologus book"). The text of the story was changed and a number of Christian homilies, denouncing greed and praising "those who suffered for Christ's sake", were included in it. The story gained wide popularity and 44 manuscript copies have survived. Traces of this rendering of the Indian *Pancatantra* can be seen in a number of ancient Russian works. Thus, the ambassador of Pope Gregory XIII to the Moscow court in the years 1581-1582 the Jesuit Antonio Possevino was compared with the "cunning Ihnelates". The fables of *Stephanites and Ihnelates* of Indian origin may have influenced Russian folklore, and later entered new Russian literature.

The first description of travels in India in old Russian literature goes back to the 15th century, being the famous *Voyage Beyond Three Seas* by Afanasy Nikitin. In his notes the author depicts the distant foreign country authentically and in great detail. However, we will return to the *Voyage Beyond Three Seas* a little later; at the moment we will just mention that the image of India formed, in the main, under the influence of Byzantine or West European literature, did not change in essence when the notes of the Russian traveller appeared. Knowledge of distant countries penetrated medieval Russian literature only with difficulty. Nevertheless the *Voyage Beyond Three Seas* can be considered the forerunner of a new stage in the history of contacts between Russia and India.

Partly in the 16th, but chiefly in the 17th century, when a lively interest in distant countries, and in particular India, arose in Russia, there appeared a number of scientific works devoted to a description of the Earth. It was at that time that the works of classical ancient geographers and general works on geography were translated into Russian, among them the Polish *Chronicle* *of the Whole World* by Marcin Bielski, the *Cosmographia* by the Italian scholar Giovanni Botero, and the *Cosmographia* by the Flemish scholar Gerhardus Mercator. Special works, devoted to the history of the Great Moguls and journeys to India (for example, on the travels of "George Spilbergius, commodore of three ships bound to India in 1601" and others), were also translated.

In written literature information from Cosmas Indicopleustes, the *Physiologus* and *Alexandria* was transferred to the "Primers or Alphabets of Foreign Languages", which repeated the stories of Indian wonders, of the blessed Brahmans who lived "beyond the Ganges, one of the rivers flowing from paradise" and so on. It is interesting that the compilers of the Primers did not insist on the truth of their information, stating: "Whether this is true or false I know not, but since I found it in books, I have taken the trouble to copy it here. The same also is the case with the beasts and birds, the trees, grasses, fishes and stones written about here in alphabetical order." In one 17th-century Primer information from ancient Russian literature and West European *Cosmographias* about India is presented in the following way: "The Kingdom of Great India has been a famous kingdom from ancient times; the expanse of Great India is boundless on all sides; its towns and villages are as numerous as the stars in the sky, it spreads as far as the Chinese Kingdom on one side and on the other to the Eastern Sea. There was piety there, it was baptised by the holy apostles, but has now turned from the true faith: they revere the sun, the moon and the stars and worship fire and water. Prince Joasaph was a native of that same Great India and his preceptor in piety was the hermit Barlaam. India abounds in jewels and fragrances ... and there is no drunkenness."

This description reflects, in a concise form, information from the Graeco-Roman geographers, medieval legends and the notes of contemporary travellers.

In the general works of the 17th century information is gleaned from the compositions of ancient geographers, from legends and the *Christian Topography* by Cosmas Indicopleustes tightly interwoven with information obtained from eye-witnesses–geographers and travellers. Thus, for example, in the Russian *Cosmographia of 1670*, based chiefly on a Russian translation of Mercator's *Cosmographia*, there are references both to Roman geographers and historians: Pomponius Mela, Diodorus, Pliny, and to the 13th-century traveller Marco Polo and a French geographer of the new period Scaliger. Thus India stands before the reader as though regardless of time, as if the country had never changed over the one and a half or two thousand years. A similar, non-historical, timeless perception was a feature of all medieval literature. In the *Alexandria* mentioned by us, the Macedonian ruler battles valiantly with nations who only appeared many centuries after his death. It is interesting that in the *Cosmographia*, as distinct from medieval tales, when describing India, special attention is paid to its spices and not to its wonders. The book tries neither to attract the reader with its exposition nor to preach at him, but to give him practical information. The *Cosmographia* speaks of a multitude of Indian cities conquered by "Alexander's commanders" and along with this gives a description of the "chief capital–the city of Kalekhuta" (Calicut, an important Portuguese base in India), and also the city of Cambay "on the bank of the Gujarat", for which the compiler refers to Scaliger. Telling of the peoples and castes of India on the basis of classical ancient writers, the author of the *Cosmographia* adds that the languages and customs of India are varied: "There is Persian and Arabic, Christians and Jews, those Christians who adhere to the teaching of St. Thomas." Combining ancient and medieval legends with the data gleaned from geographers who were his contemporaries, the compiler of the *Cosmographia* tries to give his work a scientific character. He says: "There are others who write much about India that is improbable, but of that I will keep silent."

The literary image of India gradually began to come into conflict with reality and recede into the realm of fantasy. At the end of the 17th and during the 18th century the Russian concept of India was already being formed not on the basis of earlier literary translations but from reports of Russian and foreign travellers. By the 18th century direct communications between Russia and India had expanded considerably.

It would, of course, be a mistake to assess the knowledge of India in old Rus up to the 17th century solely from such works as *The Story of the Indian Kingdom* and *Alexandria*. The attitude of literature to reality in olden times was very complicated. Its basic aim was not an authentic picture of reality, in particular of geographical reality. For a long time practical information about "far-off India" was not to be found in literature (partly because such information was in the hands of "non-bookish" people). The literary image of India and concrete information about the country coexisted without coming into conflict. Only on the eve of modern times did there appear a demand for a critical assessment of ancient literary tradition on the basis of experience.

Russian-Indian relations, whether direct or indirect, go back to time immemorial. Archaeological finds show quite broad relations between Kievan Rus and the Orient. Goods and coins of Oriental origin (including Indian) are to be found in the cultural strata of the 8th and 9th centuries, and Arab authors begin to mention the Russians very early. Connections with India probably arose through the Khazar capital, Itil-Khazaran, at the mouth of the Volga. Arab sources speak of a numerous Russian colony in this city in the 9th and 10th centuries, and meetings between Russians and Indians occurred in other cities besides Itil. The Arabian geographer and traveller Ibn Fadlan, who made a trip on the Volga in the years 921-922, speaks of a certain "Sind" living with the ruler of Volga Bulgaria and, incidentally, engaged in trading. Ibn Fadlan's book also contains a detailed account of the Russians who came to Volga Bulgaria.

A trade route via the river Volga and the Caspian Sea, joining Rus with Central Asia and Northern India, was set up in the 10th and 11th centuries. Mention is made in the ancient Russian *Chronicle of Times Past* of the route to Khorezm and further to the "land of Shem", which latter also includes regions of India. The famous Arabian and Persian writer of the early 13th century Muhammad Aufi, a native of Bukhara living in Delhi, tells of the Kievan Prince Vladimir sending an embassy to the ruler of Khorezm. The greater part of the Arab geographers' knowledge of the Russians goes back to the 10th and 11th centuries, although sometimes passed on by much later sources. It is interesting to note that the Arabs remarked on the existence of close ties between the Russians and the Khazars. At the same time many Arab geographers in one way or another associated the Khazars with the Indians, evidently because of the good communications and trade routes that existed. Some Arab authors, in particular al-Bakri and Ibn Haukal, remarked on a similarity of customs among the Russians and the Indians. Thus, al-Bakri wrote: "They (the Russians) have customs like those of the Indians." Arabic-speaking authors, including those living in India, frequently mention the famous iron swords which reached the East from Rus. Undoubtedly relations between Rus and the Orient were not limited to trading. Thus, chessmen appeared quite early in Rus and chess playing became very widespread. Chessmen are often found during excavations of 11th-century Novgorod. There are many facts to show that chess was brought to Rus from the East, via Itil and Volga Bulgaria, and in the final analysis from India. The figures and names of chessmen in ancient Rus are much closer to the Indian than to those used in Western Europe. As distinct from Europeans, Russians used Eastern names for certain pieces: "ferz" (counsellor) and not "queen", "slon" (elephant) and not "bishop", etc.

The Mongol-Tatar invasion, devastating not only Rus but parts of Central Asia, at first, apparently, severed existing international relations, but then, after some time, the Golden Horde itself became a connecting link between Rus and India. In the 14th century the sultans of India maintained close relations with the Juchis, to whom a number of Russian principalities were subject. Major trading centres were both the Horde's capitals, Sarai-Batu (Old Sarai) and Sarai-Berke (New Sarai). The famous Arab traveller Ibn Battuta, who visited the Golden Horde in the 1430s, reports on its wide trade with India (whither, for example, they sent herds of six thousand or more horses). A whole series of trade routes connected the Volga region with Northern India via Transcaucasia (Derbent, Baku and Shemakha) and Central Asia. Ibn Battuta notes that Mohammad Tughlak especially protected trade with the Golden Horde, and a series of finds of 14th-century Indian gold coins in the Volga region (the treasure-trove near the village of Tenishevo, etc.) is proof of this. Russian merchants are known to have been trading in both Sarai and Central Asia, and traders from certain regions of India and Afghanistan appeared in Rus. Writing about the coming to Tver of the officials sent by Khan Uzbek, the chronicler reports that killed together with members of the Horde were "Khopyl guests". These latter were probably merchants from "Kobyl" (as Kabul was called in 17th-century documents). According to al-Omari Russian fabrics were considered a great luxury in India. A number of sources dwell on Russians in India in the 14th century. Amir Khusro Dehalevi notes that beautiful Russian women are "as cold as ice", and according to the *Tughlak-nama* Russians served in the army of the famous Indian ruler Ghias-ud-din Tughlak.

At the end of the 14th century the Golden Horde was destroyed by Timur (Tamerlane), who made a number of devastating campaigns into India and Rus, but the trade routes were preserved. The Castilian ambassador to Timur's court, Ruy González de Clavijo, reported that in Samarkand he had seen traders with Russian and Indian goods. Ambassadors from "a far-off land, from Shahrukh's kingdom" (Shahrukh, son of Timur) came to Tver. India is also mentioned from time to time in Russian chronicles. In 1352 a number of chronicles of Northern Rus report the spread of the "black death" (the plague): "Some say that this epidemic came from the country of India, from the Sun-City." It is very characteristic that, on the one hand, the chroniclers rely on oral sources, whilst on the other, the very mention of India arouses purely literary reminiscences of the "Sun-City"—Heliopolis.

After the decline of the Golden Horde the role of major trading centres in the Volga region passed to Kazan and mainly to Astrakhan, the latter being connected with Central Asia, Iran and, apparently, Northern India. At the same time Russian merchants firmly established themselves in Astrakhan.

There are comparatively few sources of information on Russian-Indian connections in the 15th century, but one of these is priceless, and that is the *Voyage Beyond Three Seas* by the merchant from Tver* Afanasy Nikitin. New research suggests that his trip to India lasted from 1471 to 1474 (it was previously accepted as lasting from 1469 to 1472). Nikitin sailed to Iran via Astrakhan, the usual route of Russian merchants to the East. His further route to India was still unusual for Russians but was the traditional trading route between Iran and India. After his arrival by sea in the port of Cambay the Russian traveller went to Chaul, Pali, Umri, Junnar, lived for a long time in Bidar, visited Parvata and then returned home via Gulbarga, Koilkonda, Kallur, Aland and Dabhol. India at this time had no regular trading relations with Rus, nor with other European countries. Crowds of people followed Nikitin in India. Even if one supposes the possibility of visits to India by Russian merchants before Nikitin, there is no mention of such occurrences either by the travellers themselves or by other sources. At the same time the Russian merchant knew where he was going. Evidently, he had conducted regular trade in regions bordering on the Caspian, and was connected with the Khorasans,** and therefore called himself "Isuf Khorasani". On arriving in India, Nikitin received support from an influential Khorasan, Haji Muhammed (Mahmet). It is also typical that there are in the *Voyage* some author's passages in a language presenting a sort of mixture of Oriental words, a language apparently widespread among merchants in the Caspian regions and Central Asia. Modern researchers suggest that Chagatai elements were predominant in this language. It was Muslim merchants, familiar with both Russian and Indian markets, who told the merchant from Tver about Indian goods. Afanasy Nikitin knew nothing of Indian trading and so, on arriving in India, he was at first disappointed: "They talked about a multitude of goods, but it turned out that there was nothing for our land... Pepper and colouring are cheap ... but ... the duty is high."

During his journey the Russian merchant attentively studied and, obviously, recorded what grows in India and where, and how much things cost (where to find a lot of pepper and incense, the price of horses, etc.). He strove to find out about the riches and prices in those parts of India and in contiguous countries that he could not visit himself. In spite of a certain amount of disappointment and the difficulties experienced in India, Nikitin probably considered information about Indian goods and the possibility of trade with India to be important.

He was undoubtedly a well-read man and took with him on his travels some "books", which, however, disappeared during a raid by bandits. A comparison of the Indian sculpture (But) with the monument to the Emperor Justinian in Tsargrad (Constantinople) was obviously inspired by the reading of some illustrated manuscript. Afanasy Nikitin set out for India not just because of trading interest but also from a thirst for knowledge. It is quite possible that

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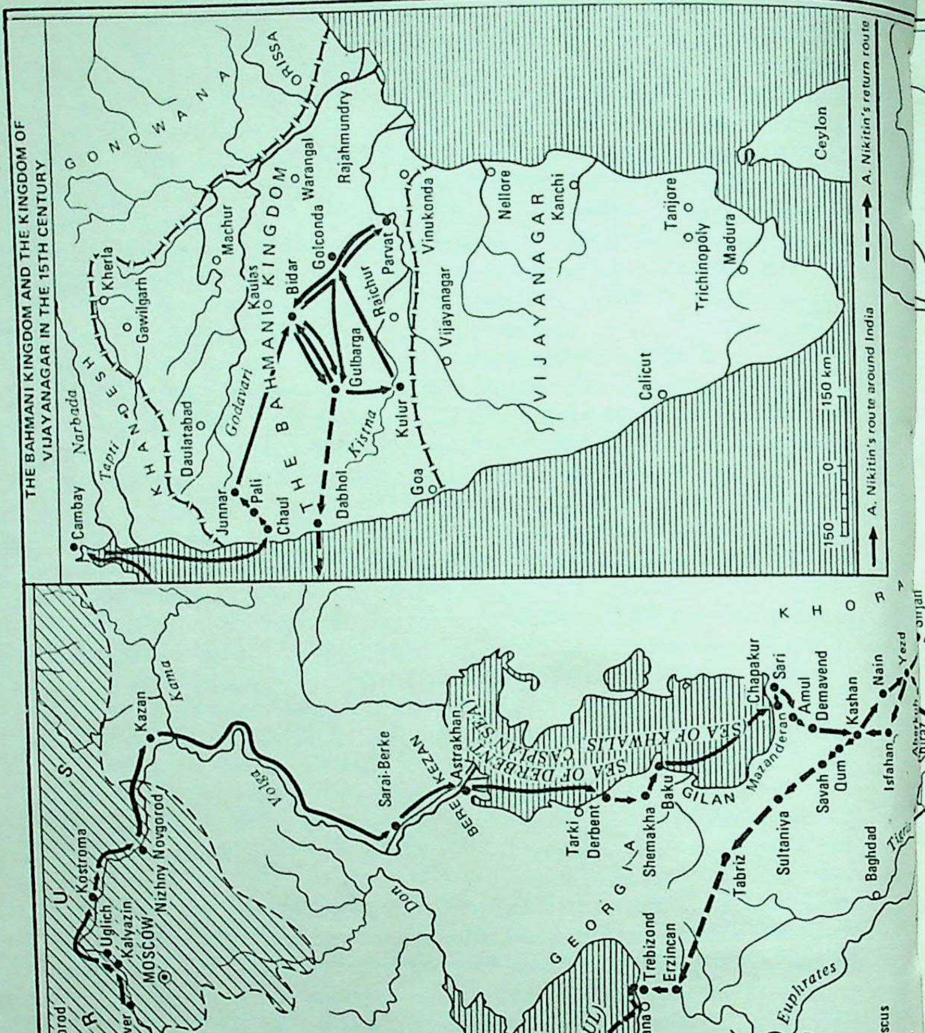
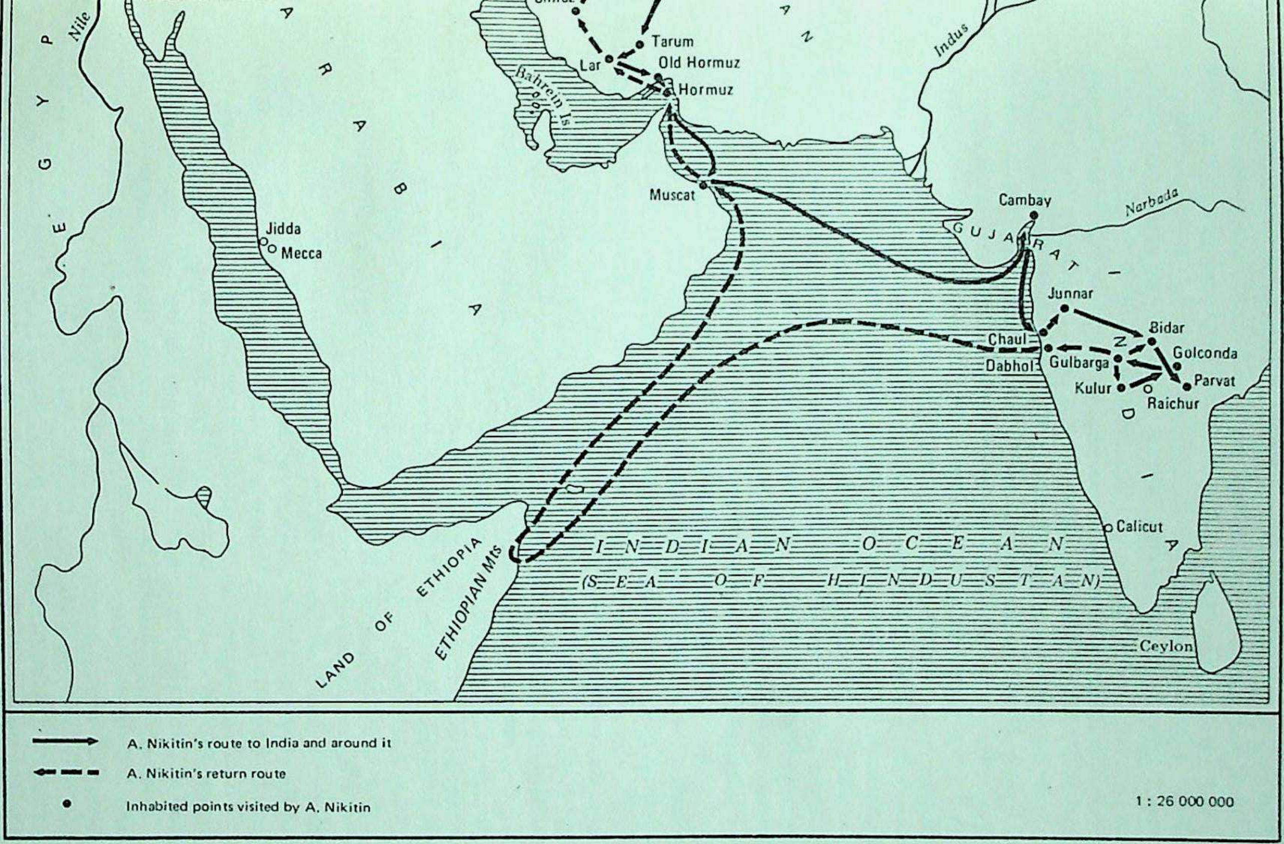
* Present name Kalinin.

** Khorasans—who came from Khorasan, the north-eastern region of Iran.


THE BAHMANI KINGDOM AND THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR IN THE 15TH CENTURY
Cambay
Narbada
Tapti
KHANDESH
GONDWANA
ORISSA
Daulatabad
Godavari
Junnar
Pali
Chaul
Dabhol
THE BAHMANI KINGDOM
Kaulas
Machur
Kherla
Gawilgarh
Bidar
Golconda
Warangal
Rajahmundry
Gulbarga
Raichur
Parvat
Kistna
Kulur
Goa
Vijayanagar
Vinukonda
Nellore
Kanchi
VIJAYANAGAR
Calicut
Tanjore
Trichinopoly
Madura
Ceylon
150 0 150 km
A. Nikitin's route around India
A. Nikitin's return route
Novgorod
Pskov
RUS
Tver
Kalyazin
Uglich
Kostroma
MOSCOW
Nizhny Novgorod
Kazan
Kama
Volga
Sarai-Berke
KEZAN
BERE
Astrakhan
SEA OF DERBENT (CASPIAN SEA)
SEA OF KHWALIS
Tarki
Derbent
Shemakha
Baku
GILAN
Mazanderan
Chapakur
Sari
Amul
Demavend
KHORA
Kashan
Nain
Yezd
Savah
Qum
Isfahan
Sultaniya
Tabriz
Baghdad
Tigris
Don
GEORGIA
Smolensk
Dnieper
Kiev
PODOLIA
WALACHIA
Kaffa
Gurzuf
Balaklava
BLACK SEA (SEA OF STAMBUL)
Trebizond
Platana
Erzincan
Amasya
Tokat
Constantinople
TURKEY
KARAMAN
Euphrates
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem


E G Y P
Nile
A R A B I A
Jidda
Mecca
Bahrein Is.
Lar
Tarum
Old Hormuz
Hormuz
A N
Indus
Muscat
Cambay
Narbada
G U J A R A T
Junnar
Bidar
Golconda
Parvat
Raichur
Kulur
Gulbarga
Chaul
Dabhol
I N D I A
Calicut
Ceylon
I N D I A N O C E A N
(S E A O F H I N D U S T A N)
ETHIOPIAN Mts
LAND OF ETHIOPIA
A. Nikitin's route to India and around it
A. Nikitin's return route
Inhabited points visited by A. Nikitin
1 : 26 000 000

The Voyage of Afanasy Nikitin to India (1471-1474) he was acquainted with other "voyages" and under their influence began to make notes in India which on his return he put together in the form of a special book. It is also possible that he had read the *Christian Topography* by Cosmas Indicopleustes who had crossed "three seas" nine centuries before. The tone of the *Voyage* is instructive at times and reminiscent of other ancient Russian literary works. However, the difference between Nikitin's work and those "voyages" already known in Rus and devoted to holy places or official embassies is striking. The author's language and style are individual in spite of the traditions of ancient Russian literature, and one rarely finds literary reminiscences in it. Could the indication of a populous India be a repetition of written information, going back to antiquity, and the description of the luxuries of Indian grandees a reflection of the traditional idea that India was a wealthy country? Both could be the result of the author's direct impressions. Judging by the fact that several manuscript copies of the *Voyage* have survived, it had a certain circulation among the educated Russian public. However, the narrative of an eye-witness, who had lived in India for several years, still did not change the general notion of India in old Russian literature. The literary image of India and the description of her way of life and her nature by the merchant from Tver seemed to be, as it were, on different levels in the consciousness of the man of the Middle Ages.

The author's attitude to what he saw in India is particularly interesting. Afanasy Nikitin describes the customs and beliefs of the Indians, their knowledge of life and run of things. Occasionally one can sense his irreconcilability to the Muslims, which is partly explained by the fact that Rus was still under the Mongol-Tatar yoke. A no less important cause was, of course, the persistent attempts to convert the traveller to Islam by force. As a whole, religious intolerance is not found in Nikitin's work; on the contrary, he frequently compares foreign festivities and rites with Russian Orthodox ones. He often recalls his native faith, but this is not, however, simply a show of piety but an expression of grief over his separation from his native land. It is precisely "musing on the Christian faith, on Christian baptism" that he "concentrated his thoughts on going to Rus". Refusing to accept the Muslim faith, the wanderer remained an Orthodox believer. At the same time he did not feel any religious enmity. Having lost count of time in this foreign land, the Russian merchant fasted with the Muslims, prayed in a foreign language and told his reader in the *Voyage*: "But God knows the true belief." He relates that he became close friends with the Indians, declaring to them: "I am a Christian not a Muslim and my name is Afanasy... They held nothing back from me, neither in food, nor in trade, nor in prayer, nor in anything else; neither did they hide their wives." There is no cause to see in this the usual traveller's praise of his own knowledge. Living alone in a foreign country, having only modest means of livelihood, striving, like the Indians, not to lose his faith, he was naturally obliged to become friendly with the local population. In his words one can feel his pride at this closeness, insofar as Indians are usually "reticent about food and hide their wives", and so on, as the traveller himself writes. Curiosity made him set out for the sacred city of Parvata to a Hindu festival and he travelled in the company of Indians. He describes the Hindu festival at length, gives a colourful picture of the procession of Indians, their obeisances to images of deities. He also tells here about the images themselves, of the Indian gods in the form of a man with an elephant's head (Ganesha), an ape (Hanuman) and many others.

Some of Afanasy Nikitin's reports on Indian religion, and also on the history of the Indian realms of the Bahmani and Vijayanagara (the first reports by a European of these realms) are of great historical interest. In full agreement with traditional medieval literature the author of the *Voyage* was much more interested in the fantastic tales of the mysterious bird—the "gukuk", which "breathed out fire", and similar things, than in the actual wonders of the animal world of India, so unusual to a foreigner. In a number of his reports one can find Indian legends (for example, in Nikitin's story of the prince and his army of apes, tales to be found in the *Ramayana* are undoubtedly reflected). He also offers details of their everyday rites—rules for taking food, caste prohibitions, the way they give personal names, the cult of the cow and funeral rituals. Some of the local customs seemed strange to him, but there is scarcely a word of condemnation in the *Voyage*. On the contrary, we find a lively interest in the life of the foreigners and their religion. He notes that the Indians both "pray like Russians" and "bow in monkish fashion". In these first notes by a Russian about India there is absolutely none of that arrogance towards the local population which one so often meets in many descriptions of India by Western travellers, and which leaves such an unpleasant impression. As distinct from many Europeans, travelling in the East during the Middle Ages, Afanasy Nikitin did not go to India as a missionary to implant the "true faith" and eradicate "paganism", nor did he have any diplomatic messages to the Eastern rulers. This Russian merchant described with surprise (and, possibly, a certain exaggeration) the luxury of the Indian grandees, but did not look on it with envious eyes, nor think of conquering the East with all its riches. Vasco da Gama's voyage some decades later had incomparably greater historical consequences, works by Europeans after Marco Polo's journey sometimes contain no less important information than the *Voyage Beyond Three Seas*, but thanks to Afanasy Nikitin's inquisitiveness and his friendly attitude towards the inhabitants, his notes have earned a special place among medieval descriptions of India. His remark that "in India village people are very poor, but the nobles are rich and sumptuous" is very striking. The well-known Russian Indologist I. Minayev wrote: "This precise and precious remark of Afanasy Nikitin's shows his outstanding power of observation. He divined the real state of affairs in old India: behind the splendour he was able to discern the grievous sides of Indian life, to comprehend that the glittering court, the foreign and native nobility, the alien and home-bred warriors lived, enjoyed their pleasures, robbed and built up wealth at the expense of that rural population, which seemed to our traveller to be 'very poor'." This insight is not accidental. A certain democratism of the author can be felt in the *Voyage Beyond Three Seas*, where he speaks with the same disapproval of the Russian grandees. The *Voyage* expresses the desire that "order reign in the Russian land" and that there be justice there. Afanasy Nikitin was a man of that age when the need for unity of the Russian land was being recognised, and in the foreign country he felt himself to be not just a man from Tver but first and foremost a Russian. The fact that the manuscript was taken to Moscow in 1475 from Smolensk, where Nikitin had died, points to the attention it drew, while its inclusion in the annals (chronicles) proves that the description of the journey to India was given state importance.

Several decades after the death of Afanasy Nikitin, in 1497, Vasco da Gama opened the sea route to India for Europeans. The Portuguese had a monopoly of trade with India, making fantastic profits and arousing the envy of every European merchant and ruler. Interest in the wealth of the Eastern countries began to appear in the Muscovite kingdom also, now united and freed from the Mongol-Tatar yoke. It is also significant that quite a few foreigners were living at the court in Moscow. The Italians felt the success of their Portuguese rivals particularly keenly, and dreamed of opening new trade routes to India and China through Persia and Russia. The Genoese Paolo Centurione spoke about such a route in Moscow in 1520, and in 1537 the Venetian Marco Foscarini did the same. The Russian diplomat Dmitry Gerasimov caused a sensation in Europe by noting the possibility of going by sea via Russia to Eastern India. In 1525 Pavel Jovius, and later on the Italian Ramusio, wrote about the north-eastern passage, proceeding from what the "Russian ambassador" in Rome had said. At the beginning of the 16th century British and Swedish expeditions were being planned to follow a north-eastern route along the coast of the Arctic Ocean and overland—through Russia by way of the Caspian Sea, and further on through Iran to India. The Russian authorities, obviously, paid little attention to these projects. There were no direct relations with India at this time and information about her remained insignificant. The Nikonovskaya Chronicle states that in September 1532 "to the great Prince Vasily Ivanovich of all Rus in Moscow" there came an ambassador from India Khozya-Hussein (Khwaja Hussain) and "brought a communication from Babur-padsha,* ruler of the Indian lands", saying that Babur-padsha "wished that the great ruler Vasily Ivanovich live in friendship and brotherhood with him, and that people pass between them from both sides". According to the chronicle the great prince agreed that "people might pass between them but of brotherhood to him gave no command" for "who knows what he is in the Indian state, ruler or local governor". No documents from this embassy have been preserved, therefore opinions differ about it in modern historiography. One opinion is that Khwaja Hussain was a merchant holding a normal safe-conduct from Babur. There is, however, another suggestion: that Babur, coming as he did from Central Asia, was simply showing an interest in the far-off northern state that had long had connections with Central Asian countries. In any case, it was extremely complicated to establish communications between Rus and India. It is revealing that Khwaja Hussain's embassy was en route not less than two years, since Babur had died in 1530.

Great interest in India began to appear in Russia in the mid-16th century during the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584), after the seizure of Kazan and Astrakhan, long the centres of the Eastern trade. The establishment of trade relations between the realm of Muscovy and England also goes back to this time. English merchants, trying to go to India by a North-Eastern route, discovered the Russian market in the mid-16th century A so-called Muscovy or Russian company was formed. Throughout the second half of the 16th century the English tried unceasingly to acquire trade routes through Russia to Central Asia, Persia and India. They hoped to make huge profits after opening a route from Arkhangelsk via Yaroslavl, Moscow and Astrakhan to Persia and then to India. The English government repeatedly asked the Russian rulers to grant the Muscovy company a monopoly of trade with Bukhara,

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* Padishah, emperor.

Persia, and India. Other European countries also showed an interest in trade routes to the East. For example, Sweden, making peace with Ivan the Terrible, included in the treaty a paragraph about permitting Swedish merchants to travel to the Far East via Russia. The Italian Giovanni Botero affirmed that the best route to India was through Russia, but the Russian tsar would not let it be used. The Russian government encouraged Eastern trade. It simply did not want to hand over the profits of this trade to the English and other foreigners, counting on setting up relations with far-off Eastern countries for itself. In 1557-1558 a petition was made by the merchants of Khiva, Bukhara and Samarkand for permission to trade in Astrakhan. Indian wares reached Moscow mainly via Persia, and foreigners reported that the Russians used an enormous quantity of spices, especially pepper. One of the Italian sources of 1553 speaks of Ivan the Terrible as having a particular interest in the search for new routes to India. In 1557 a special mission from the Moscow merchants was sent to Hormuz, a city on the exit from the Persian Gulf, and at that time a centre of trade with India. The 1595 draft treaty with Iran provided for Russian trade through Iranian territory (obviously with India).

Russia had no official relations with India in the 16th century, nevertheless individual Russian merchants reached India. The English traveller, Ralph Fitch, heard of Russian merchants in India in the 1580s, and in the 1590s a Russian merchant, Leonty Yudin, lived for nine years in Bukhara and India "in order to trade". Indian merchants also appeared in Russia, and there is evidence that at the close of the 16th century the Russian ruler Boris Godunov gave them his protection. A bronze vessel with an Indian inscription in the *Gurmukhi* script, found in Orsk (Southern Urals), possibly dates to the 16th century. It belonged to the pundit Bholasingh, evidently a Sikh engaged in trade in this area. We know of the unsuccessful voyage of a Bengali merchant to Russia with a cargo of silk. By the end of the 16th century Russian-Indian trade relations were being established with difficulty, but in the 17th century they became firmer and more regular.

In the first half of the 17th century a certain proportion of Indian goods reached Russia through English and Dutch merchants who brought them to Moscow from Arkhangelsk and Kholmogory. Gradually Russia's Eastern trade expanded. Textiles, precious stones, incense and medicines from India began to come in through Iran in large quantities. At this time Iran itself was feeling the considerable influence of Indian trading capital. There were colonies of Indian merchants, thousands strong, living in its large cities, such as Isfahan, Kandahar and Shiraz. A whole network of Indian colonies, interconnected by blood as well as business relations, encompassed territory from Transcaucasia and the Caspian Sea to Northern India. After the wars and armed dissensions of the so-called Troubled Times Indian merchants from Transcaucasia and Iran appeared in Astrakhan between 1615-1616. By the beginning of the 1620s a number of them had settled there permanently. They also traded in Kazan, Moscow and Yaroslavl. The Russian government tried its best to attract Eastern merchants and their goods, particularly Indians. In Astrakhan the Indians lived together with the Bukharans, Armenians and Persians, and by 1647 the permanent Indian colony in Astrakhan consisted of about 25 persons. Their volume of trade was so considerable that they asked for their own trading centre, which was set up already by 1649. A quite comprehensive collection of documents connected with the life of the Indian colonists in Astrakhan has survived and many of them have been published in Russian. Judging by their names a great part were from the Punjab and Sind and by religion not Muslims but Hindus. The Russian government protected the Indians in Astrakhan and tried to end the conflicts with local officials which had arisen, permitted Indian religious rites to be freely performed and traditional customs to be observed. Also preserved was the customary Indian cooperative management—the *pancayat*. Some of the Indians became Russian citizens and set up families. A whole group of Agrizhans, as the descendants of mixed Indian-Tatar marriages were called, appeared. Cases were known of Indians adopting Orthodox Christianity. The Indian colony, closely connected with similar colonies in Persia, brought to Russia mainly Persian and Indian goods, enjoying in this the protection of the tsar. The trade turnover of some of the Indians was considerable and the treasury annually received several thousand roubles of profit from duties (the Indians themselves spoke of tens of thousands). There were certain cases of Indian merchants being subsidised by the treasury. For instance, the wealthy merchant Sutur (or Chutra) received four thousand roubles from the treasury. There were also state orders for Indian goods, for example medicines. Indian merchants also carried on retail trade in Russia, living at times for a number of years in Moscow. There was a special house for Indian, Armenian and Persian merchants in Granatny Lane. According to one document there were 31 Indian merchants and three ascetic monks, one of them a fire-worshipper, living in Moscow in the second half of the 17th century.

With the help of the Indians in Astrakhan the Moscow government also counted on attracting Indian craftsmen—weavers and dyers. The original protection of the Indians was considerably curtailed in the second half of the 17th century after the receipt of a number of complaints from Russian merchants against their foreign competitors. After publication of the law on Russia's foreign and domestic trade (New Trading Regulations) in 1667, attempts were made to restrict the Indians to wholesale trading within the limits of Astrakhan itself, although the appearance of Indian merchants in Moscow in the last third of the 17th century was no rarity. An important source of wealth for the Indian merchants was money-lending, and, judging by a series of documents, some of them succeeded in enslaving not only the local Tatar population but even their own countrymen.

The government of Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich (1613-1645) and later that of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (1645-1676) tried persistently to establish direct diplomatic relations with India. In 1632 a collection of known facts about India was drawn up in the private office of the tsar and works by West Europeans on the empire of the Great Moguls were translated into Russian. A special mission headed by an inhabitant of Kazan, Nikita Siroyezhin, and a merchant from Astrakhan, Vasily Tushkanov, who had often been in Persia, was sent to the Mogul Emperor Shahjahan. In the official document which they carried, written in the Russian and Tatar languages, "brotherly friendship and love" was offered to Shahjahan, and it was proposed that "trading people should pass into both their great sovereign states and carry on trade". Detailed instructions to the ambassadors required them to make enquiries about trade routes between Russia and India, about Indian goods and their prices and to try in every way to praise Russian goods. After their arrival in India the ambassadors were to obtain information about the country, to find out how many and what kind of cities she had, about her religion and sacred places, and also about India's overseas trade with other European states. The question of the religion of India may have been connected with the literary legends about her—several decades later the ambassadors were ordered to make enquiries not only about "all sorts of goods and trade" and "the journeys of Russian people in India", but also "about Prince Joasaph and where his relics lay". The embassy did not reach India because of the war that broke out at this time between Shahjahan and the Shah of Persia.

Moscow's interest in India became stable. Anisim Gribov, sent to Central Asia the same year (1646), was ordered to find out about routes to India from Astrakhan. In 1651 "trading people" of the wealthy Moscow merchant Vasily Shorin, Rodion Pushnikov and Ivan Derevensky, set off to Shahjahan via Persia "on a trade mission" bearing the same documents and commissions as the previous embassy. A plan for an expedition to India by sea was advanced in 1662. Prince Ivan Afanasyevich Zhelyabuzhsky talked to Courland Chancellor Felkersam about the possibility of building ships for this expedition. In 1669, on the orders of the town governor, Pyotr Ivanovich Godunov, a "Register of the Land of China and the Interior of India" was compiled in Tobolsk. Information about India could be obtained from the Bukharans who by this time were firmly established traders in Tobolsk and had even formed an official association of "Tobolsk Bukharans". Boris Pazukhin, who had returned from Bukhara, Khiva and Balkh in 1673, was closely questioned in the embassy office about the direct route to India (Pazukhin apparently obtained information about routes to India in the Indian quarter of Bukhara). Pazukhin's information was compared in the Ambassadorial Office with that of Indians in Moscow. The Russian diplomat Artamon Sergeyevich Matveyev had talks with the Bukharan ambassador and merchants in Moscow about routes to India. The Moldavian grandee on Russian government service Spatar Milescu, who was travelling through Siberia to China at this time, also wrote about routes to India and trade with her.

In 1675 an embassy, headed by Mohammed-Yusup Kasimov, who lived in the "Bukharan quarter in Astrakhan", was sent to Aurangzeb. In addition to the usual requests made to ambassadors and merchants, Kasimov was told to bring to Russia "vegetable seeds or small animals and birds which might settle down in the Russian state" and also to invite to Russia "expert builders of stone bridges and other sizeable undertakings". The question of routes to India was already being put thus: would it be convenient to go there from Astrakhan or from Siberia? Kasimov's embassy was, on the whole, a failure. And only twenty years later did the Aurangzeb government receive a new embassy from Russia, headed by the merchant Semyon Malenky, more favourably.

Thus Russian-Indian relations were with difficulty set going on the eve of the new century. In determining routes to India 17th-century Russia frequently made use of West European literature or oral evidence, and alongside the old, literary image of India there grew up a new image, created by the epoch of the great geographical discoveries.

Undoubtedly, ancient Rus did not "discover" India and Russian-Indian trade was very limited, whilst diplomatic relations began to be set up only towards the end of the 17th century. This was due to geographical and political obstacles as well as to a certain backwardness of Russia's social and economic development. It must, however, be said that relations between the two countries, existing from time immemorial, had never been completely severed. India's image existed from ancient times in Russian literature and oral tradition. It was formed basically under the influence of Byzantine and old-Bulgarian literature, the *Apocrypha* and *Alexandria, The Story of the Indian Kingdom* and translations of works going back, in the final analysis, to Indian originals. India seemed to the Russians to be a country of fabulous riches and ancient culture, populated by fantastic animals, and lying at the edge of the world, near Paradise itself. Legends about the Brahmans came to Rus via a whole series of literary intermediaries. In medieval Rus these people, distinguished by unusual piety, justice and devotion, were considered to be Christians or near Christians. The Brahmans, and perhaps all Indians, were reputed to be distinguished by unusual justice and to lead a blissful life. Features in the Russian image of India, going back to ancient tradition, gradually gave way to information provided by contemporaries and eye-witnesses. Russia's attention to India was determined not by an urge for expansion, but solely by a desire to develop trade that would be advantageous to both sides. Russians like Afanasy Nikitin, finding themselves in India, habitually displayed an unselfish interest, goodwill and a friendly attitude towards the country and her people.

## 2. Knowledge of India in 18th-Century Russia

During the time of Peter I (the Great) 1689-1725, in the first quarter of the 18th century, Russia was rapidly changing. In the war against Sweden she gained an outlet to the Baltic and a number of fortresses, and the new capital St Petersburg (now Leningrad) was built here. There had existed a certain isolation of Russia, which was being overcome, and her trade, political and cultural relations with Western Europe developed rapidly. The role of the church and ecclesiastical culture weakened and secular schools and theatres made their appearance.

A desire to ensure quick economic development led the Russian government to turn to the East with renewed energy, to search persistently for reliable trade routes to the major Eastern states, including India. Fyodor Saltykov's project of 1714, "On Additional Revenues for the State" contained proposals for seeking a Northern Sea Route to India, and for building fortresses in Siberia and the setting up of trade routes through the territory of the Kalmyks and the Mongols. From this "the state could expect great profits such as England and Holland obtain from there". In 1715 the Russian ambassador in Persia Artemy Volynsky was ordered to make enquiries about trade routes to India, and in 1716, on the personal order of Peter I, the famous expedition of Prince Alexander Bekovich-Cherkassky set off for the Central Asian states. There were several people in this expedition, headed by Lieutenant Alexander Kozhin, who were to continue along the Amu Darya to India to find out "about spices and other goods". The main task given to Kozhin was "to find a route to India by water" and to draw up a map. In the hope of establishing direct communications with India searches were made in the Ambassadorial Office in Moscow for old documents relating to the 17th-century embassies. The information contained in earlier documents was compared with the latest

Western publications about the Great Moguls, and with information from Eastern merchants living in Moscow. Peter I also organised an expedition by sea to India. In 1723 an expedition under Vice-Admiral David Wilster was equipped to be sent to Madagascar and then to "set forth on a voyage to East India, specifically to Bengalen". Wilster was commissioned to conclude a trade agreement between Russia and the Great Mogul state, and also to buy timber "for a sailing vessel". However, neither Kozhin nor Wilster was able to attain his goal.

Plans for organising Russian-Indian trade were also made after Peter's time. An anonymous plan of 1727 reviewed caravan routes from Astrakhan to India via Central Asia. In plans made in the 1730s Ivan Kirillov proposed a route to India from Orenburg. He tried to found an Indian trading colony in Orenburg, inviting Indian merchants from Bukhara, and a certain number of Indians evidently did arrive in Orenburg in the middle of the 18th century. It is a known fact that at this time prices of goods in Orenburg were quoted not only in Russian roubles but in Indian rupees also. From time to time plans made by foreign entrepreneurs to set up a special company for trade with India, were examined. At the beginning of the 1750s the governor of Orenburg, Ivan Nepluyev, tried to organise a company of Russian merchants to trade with India and the Central Asian khanates; however, the government appeal aroused no enthusiasm among the Russian merchants. The famous Russian scientist Mikhail Lomonosov was occupied with the problem of a North-Eastern passage to India in the 1760s. At the same time fresh attempts were being made to set up trade with India via Siberia and the Central Asian khanates. Finally, in the 1790s, the organisation of a special company to trade with India both overland and by sea, through Madagascar, was suggested several times, but these plans were not destined to be fulfilled at that time.

The idea of increasing trade with India through the medium of Indian merchants themselves, already permanently settled in Astrakhan in the 17th century, was incomparably more reliable. Beginning with Peter the Great the Russian government pursued a protective policy in relation to trade with the East. Peter himself visited Astrakhan in 1722 and received the doyen of the Indian merchants—Anbu Ram. In a decree signed by Peter I the Indians were given rights to considerable independence in property dealings. They were to decide matters of inheritance for themselves, "according to their law and rights", and "governors and other rulers" were ordered not to interfere in their "affairs". This decree of Peter's was strictly observed by the Russian authorities throughout the 18th century. The Indians received permission to engage in retail trade beyond the boundaries of Astrakhan. They expressed a desire to trade not only in St Petersburg and Arkhangelsk but through these cities to set up relations with other lands.

The 1720s-1740s were years of flourishing Indian trade in Russia. The annual trade turnover of the Indians during this period sometimes exceeded 100 thousand roubles. By the middle of the 18th century the Indian colony in Astrakhan numbered about 100 and there was a similar colony in Kizlyar on the river Terek. In some years the number of Indians living either temporarily or permanently in Russia reached 400 to 500. Some of the Indian entrepreneurs possessed large fortunes. According to documents in the archives, for example, when the Indian Sukhanand died in St Petersburg he left a fortune of 300 thousand roubles. A large number of documents concerning the business activities of Indian merchants has been preserved. The majority of documents in Russian have already been published but the account books of the Indians themselves are still awaiting research.

One can frequently determine the family and trade relations, wealth, occupation and family status of Indians living permanently in Astrakhan and they are well known by name. They formed an association, and as already noted, enjoyed considerable independence in the conduct of their internal affairs. In addition to merchants the colony included various other people, servants and, possibly, artisans. In Astrakhan, and indeed not only in that city, there were also Indians with religious rank—Russian sources usually called them *popy*—priests. Obviously they were Brahmans. Wealthy Indian merchants sometimes took Brahmans with them on journeys to Moscow and St Petersburg. The colony always had a number of "hermits", living on the charity of their fellow believers. There were three religious meeting houses in the Indian settlement in Astrakhan, and in spite of the fact that at times the local police chief expressed his dissatisfaction over the Indians performing their religious rites in the centre of Astrakhan, they were, apparently, in no way impeded. In this respect the Indians in Russia were in a much more favourable position than, for example, those in neighbouring Persia. It was primarily Indians from Persia who came to Astrakhan and they traded mainly in Persian and not in Indian goods. There is, therefore, no need to overestimate the role of the Astrakhan colony in Russian-Indian trade; however, the colony's relations with India were not broken off. A number of the Indians lived only for a time in Astrakhan and then returned home. Quite often Indian traders came to Astrakhan for a short period. Indians living in Astrakhan strictly abided by their customs and performed their rites and regularly sent gifts to the religious centres in India. In the USSR collections of Oriental manuscripts there are Indian religious texts from Astrakhan, either brought from India or copied in the colony itself. Several descriptions of Indians in Astrakhan, made by both Russian and foreign travellers, have also been preserved. These descriptions, incidentally, are important because they are, in many respects, reliable evidence of the rites and way of life of the Indians.

By the end of the 1740s the Astrakhan colony began to experience certain difficulties. The first cause was that the scope of the colony's trading was accounted for by its close relations with similar colonies in Persia, and in Persia, after the murder of Nadir Shah, there was "great confusion, disturbances and robbery". "Our brothers the Indians in Persia," runs one document, "can do little trade there, in Persia." In addition, the centre of the Eastern trade in Russia had begun to shift from Astrakhan to Orenburg. Serious changes were also taking place in India herself which was coming more and more under British domination.

Russians seldom reached India in the 18th century, but in the 1760s four Russian sailors, who were serving for a time on British ships, made a voyage to India. Count Vorontsov, the Russian ambassador in London, ordered them to make notes of the kind that would be useful for Russian-Indian trade, as well as those of a navigational character. Midshipman Nikifor Poluboyarinov's diary is particularly interesting, containing, as it does, graphic descriptions of India's climate, her cities and the outward appearance and customs of the Indians. It also contains sketches, made from life (probably the first sketches made by a Russian in India). Several of the Russian sailors' reports are also interesting from the historical point of view, for example, accounts of the uprising against the British in Bengal, reports about the mutiny in the army at Patna, etc. The travels in India of Nikolai Chelobichikov, a merchant from the small Russian town of Trubchevsk, also belong to this period. In the 1770s a Russian ensign, Filipp Yefremov, born in Vyatka (now Kirov), who had been forced into slavery in Bukhara, was obliged to return to his native land via India. In his notes, first published in 1786 and running through three editions during the author's lifetime, Yefremov tells of what he was able to see in India. Nevertheless, visits to India by Russians were of a chance nature, and the notes of Russian travellers made at that time claim no scientific accuracy of description. The visits of Indians to Russia were of a similarly chance nature (excluding, of course, the Indian trading colonies). Thus, for example, the Russian embassy to the Far East at the beginning of the 18th century met an Indian hermit from Madras in the vicinity of Selenginsk, in the Trans-Baikal region. During the reign of Empress Anna Ioannovna, eighteen Indian elephant-keepers in St Petersburg looked after the elephants given to her by the Shah of Persia. There are reports of a journey by an Indian, Pranpuri, to Astrakhan, Baku and Moscow.

Academic science arose in Russia in the 18th century. Oriental antiquities began to be collected in the Kunstkamera (cabinet of curiosities) founded during the reign of Peter the Great. The St Petersburg Academy of Sciences was founded in 1724 and among its members in the 18th century were several specialists on the history and languages of the East (mainly of German descent). A series of scholarly works relating to India was published in the 1730s.

As early as 1724 Daniil Messerschmidt, during an exploratory expedition to Siberia, got to know an Indian merchant and took lessons from him in Indian languages and scripts. This merchant was a native of Delhi but lived permanently in Irkutsk, had married in Russia and was baptised a Christian. Messerschmidt learned to read, write and speak a little Hindi, and in addition to the spoken language he also got to know some Sanskrit. From the dictation of his Indian teachers he compiled lists of names of plants, birds, and animals in Indian languages. Notes on the alphabets and paradigms of declensions are preserved in his papers (not only of Indo-Aryan languages but also of Tamil).

One of the first scholars in Russia to work on Indian languages was the Orientalist Professor Georg Jacob Kehr, who was already interested in Indian languages and scripts before his arrival in Russia. He studied practically all the works on this topic that were available in European languages at that time (Athanasius Kircher, E. Reland, Bartholome Ziegenbalg and others). Letters to him from India and Ceylon are preserved in Kehr's archives, and in particular a long letter from one of the founders of European Indology, Bartholome Ziegenbalg. They also contain several exercise-books with recordings of the alphabets of Indian languages, lists of words, paradigms of declensions and conjugations and translations of texts into various Indian languages (Bengali, Tamil and others). In 1733 he made the acquaintance of an Indian from Astrakhan called Sunghara (Suhara), living at that time in St Petersburg. Sunghara had been baptised and had received a nobleman's title (he was called Pyotr Ivanovich Sungur in Russian). There is among Kehr's papers an exercise-book with notes of the lessons he took from Sunghara, who taught him not only the Devanagari alphabet but Landa too, which was used by the Indian merchants in Astrakhan for keeping their accounts. Under the guidance of Sunghara Kehr assiduously studied the grammar of the spoken language (evidently a Multani dialect). In addition he studied Indian numerals (and the numerical cryptography used by the Indians) and also composed lists of words on different topics. In a number of instances he found parallels with Indian geographical nomenclature in Greek and Latin texts about India, and also quite consistently recorded the similarity between Indian and ancient Greek vocabularies. It was precisely with the analysis of such rapprochements that work in the field of comparative linguistics and Sanskrit studies began.

It was through G.J. Kehr that Academician Theophil Siegfried Bayer got to know Sunghara and took lessons in Sanskrit from him. Information from the field of Sanskrit appears in such of Bayer's works as *History of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom*, and an article on "Brahman, Tangut and Mongolian Written Languages". These were among the first fundamental works in Oriental studies in European scholarship. The scientist's interest in the culture of Central Asia was not accidental for it was bound up with the extension of the Asian frontiers of Russia and the strengthening of her ties with Oriental states.

Academician Pyotr Pallas also recorded Indian words in Astrakhan. His remarkable work written at the end of the 18th century opened a new epoch in linguistic studies. Pallas's *Comparative Dictionary of World Languages* contains information about Sanskrit, Hindustani, Bengali and Multani, as well as the Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Singhalese languages.

The publishers acquainted the Russian public with the latest works of West European literature on India. For example, a *Short and General Explanation and Discourse on the Manners, Habits, Language, Faith and Philosophy of the Indians* was published in 1789. It was a translation of the French edition of a book by Alexander Daw, written, in its turn, on the basis of the 18th-century chronicle by Mohammad Kasim Ferishta. At the end of the 18th century much attention in the works of Russian authors was given to a description of India, chiefly with the aim of studying the possibilities of trade between Russia and India. The most important among these was the book by Mikhail Chulkov, *A Historical Description of Russian Commerce*. These works have, in general, a compilatory character, but they correspond to the level of science at the end of the 18th century.

An interest in Indian topics appeared in Russian journalist circles chiefly in the second half of the 18th century. Russian magazines reported on the reversals of fortune in the struggle of the British with the Indians, of their competition with the French and so on. It was much rarer that data on the political history of the Indian states themselves appeared. Such as, for example, the article "On the Change of Government in the State of the Great Mogul", printed in 1759 in Issue XVIII of the magazine *Prazdnoye vremya v polzu upotreblennoye* (Idle Time Used Profitably). Fiction on Indian themes began to appear in Russian magazines just as in Europe: the exoticness of the Orient would interest the Russian reader.

A considerably more serious interest in India is noticeable in the publicistic writings of the 1780s and the 1790s. It was to be discerned primarily in progressive magazines. Nikolai Novikov, a leading Russian representative of the Enlightenment, regularly included material on India in his magazine *Pribavleniye k "Moskovskim vedomostyam"* (Supplement to "The Moscow Gazette").

It was not always original work, frequently it was translated surveys (as a rule from the German). The selection of articles for translation into Russian clearly shows the democratic position of the publisher. The articles are devoted, in the main, to the activities of the East India Company, whose policy in India was given a very negative assessment. Novikov wrote about the ravaging of the country by the British and expressed sympathy with the people that was being enslaved. "Never had such a blessed people, which the Bengalis really are, been vanquished by another nation", "this so rich and happy nation came so swiftly under its new ruler to decline and poverty, that there is no example of this in history either", wrote Novikov. His attitude towards India was determined by his general political viewpoint. Progressive circles of Russian society were on the side of those who were fighting against British colonial power for independence. Britain's suppression of Indian freedom also roused in them a fiery indignation. The anti-colonial position, taken up in Novikov's magazine and by representatives of progressive Russian public opinion at the end of the 18th century, influenced the formation of the traditions of Russian Indology.

This position was expressed most vividly by Alexander Radishchev, the herald of the Russian liberation movement, who wrote in *The Song of History*: "These descendants of the wise Brahmans, prisoners of insolent villains, in their turn preserve their sacred law in the *Yajurveda*, which had been written in the letter of ancient Sanskrit, and is the embodiment of their ancient glory and witness of their shame! !" In these few words one can see a very definite image of India. Basically, this image, typical of 18th-century Europe, reminds one of the ancient fame of the Indians, and the wisdom hidden in the mysterious Sanskrit characters; of the Brahmins, handing on their beliefs and customs from generation to generation. Together with this there is a definite attitude expressed towards the India of the author's day, the decline of a once great country is noted, a country which became "prisoner" of foreign rule—of the British, whom the author calls "insolent villains". An arrogant or disdainful attitude towards the peoples of Asia was uncharacteristic of Russian literature and journalism on the whole, as also were colonialist views, widespread in Western Europe at that time.

The denunciation of British tyranny in India and sympathy towards the impoverished masses of this country was coupled with the struggle of the Russian Enlighteners against the despotism in their own country and the effort to ease the lot of the Russian peasants.

At the end of the 18th century Europe was able to become more closely acquainted with ancient Indian culture. Scholars united in the Asiatic Society of Bengal did a great deal for the study of Sanskrit literature. There is no doubt that the activity of the Asiatic Society was closely connected with the British colonial administration, the very necessity for scientific research was to a considerable extent determined by the needs of governing this vast country, which had traditions and laws the Europeans were unaccustomed to. On the one hand, elements of colonial policy could not fail to appear in the activities of the Asiatic Society. However, on the other hand, a true passion for the Orient was discernible. For the first time the horizons of Europe became so wide and before the British, the French and the Germans there were presented, previously almost unknown, ancient Oriental cultures. At the end of the 18th century scholars and writers were under the influence of the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment—freedom and equality for all. The founder of the Asiatic Society

William Jones and his associates sought in the Oriental literature, religion and philosophy humanistic ideas common to all mankind. The first texts to be translated from Sanskrit, such as the *Bhagavadgita* and *Shakuntala*, the drama by Kalidasa, attracted wide attention in Europe precisely as evidence of Indian wisdom, and as examples of literary maturity. They served as important proof of the idea of the unity of mankind. Translations into English were soon followed by retranslations into other European languages. In 1788 a Russian translation of the *Bhagavadgita* also appeared. It was called "*Baguat-geta or Conversations of Krishna with Arjuna with a Commentary*. Translated from the original, written in the ancient Brahmin language, called Sanskrit, into English and thence into the Russian language". It is typical that this translation came from the university press of Nikolai Novikov, who displayed a most lively interest in India. A few years later, in 1792, there appeared a partial translation into Russian of *Shakuntala*, which called forth the same enthusiastic comments in Russia as in Western Europe. Its Russian translator was the outstanding historian and writer Nikolai Karamzin. In a preface to the translation, published in the *Moskovsky zhurnal* (Moscow Journal), he emphasised that "the creative spirit does not live in Europe only; it is a citizen of the Universe. Man is everywhere a man; everywhere he has a sensitive heart, and in the mirror of his imagination he holds both Heaven and Earth". On practically every page of the drama he found "the greatest beauties of poetry, subtle feelings, an exquisite and ineffable tenderness ... the purest, inimitable nature and great art". He compared Kalidasa to Homer, the greatest poet of ancient Greece. In addition to the pure artistic maturity of the drama, Karamzin also noted that it gives a better understanding of ancient India, "of the characters, customs and usual practices of her people".

The treasure-house of ancient Indian literature had thus attracted the attention of outstanding Russian writers very early. However, because of the absence of direct ties with India, Russian society had to be satisfied, in the main, with the information it was possible to obtain from Europe, chiefly from English publications. But by the close of the 18th century it was to Gerasim Lebedev that a special and very important place in the history of the study of India in Russia belonged.

Lebedev's life was unusual. He was born in 1749, available evidence suggests that he was born in Yaroslavl. His father was a clergyman and for some time worked in St Petersburg. The family had very modest means and therefore the boy learned to read and write only at the age of 15. From then on he began to study music and after a few years became a professional musician. In 1777 he went abroad, to Naples, in the retinue of the well-known nobleman and music-lover Count A. Razumovsky, and then played the cello in a number of European capitals—in Vienna, Paris and London. In 1785 he arrived in Madras on a ship of the East India Company and lived there for two years, during which time he gave concerts according to a contract made with the governor of Madras. Being keenly interested in India he tried to learn one of the spoken languages of Southern India, which he called the Malabar popular language, probably he had in mind the Tamil language. At the end of his contract the traveller set off for Calcutta "gripped by the urge to add to his store of knowledge of things and people". Lebedev spent a long time searching unsuccessfully for someone who could teach him Indian languages and at last, in 1789, he began his studies under Golak Nath Das. The scholar gave him lessons, teaching him spoken languages–Bengali and Hindustani and also explained elements of Sanskrit. In his turn he took music lessons from Lebedev. When studying Bengali the latter made use of a recently published grammar by N.B. Halhed. Golak Nath Das and his friends also taught the Russian traveller Indian arithmetic, knowledge of the calendar and so on. Relations between Europeans and Indian scholars were at that time extremely difficult because of prejudices on both sides. But the Russian musician quickly reached understanding with the Indians thanks to his benevolence and deep respect for them, insofar as he, as he himself wrote, "paid due tribute to their knowledge". Relations with the Indians were quite close and Lebedev displayed a keen interest in his own contemporaries, the Bengalis, and their culture, as well as in India's ancient cultural heritage. He translated verses by the Bengali poet, Bharat Chandra Roy, and set them to music. He studied with the Indians for several years. In the mid-1790s he was attracted by the idea of setting up a European-type theatre in Calcutta where performances would be given in Bengali. At that time there was as yet no such theatre in India. In his opinion the theatre was to serve two important aims simultaneously: to acquaint the Indians with European arts, and to help Europeans to get to know Indians and Indian languages better, that is "to provide opportunities for intercourse with the Indians". He set to work enthusiastically, himself translating two plays from English. They were comic farces. This was not accidental– he had clearly taken the tastes of the Indian public into account. In addition, in order to make them more understandable to the audience, the action was transferred to Calcutta and Lucknow and the characters were given Bengali names. In the course of the action the author, in accordance with Indian tradition, inserted singing and dancing numbers. Music, obviously, was of great importance in the performance, all the more so as the founder of the theatre was himself a musician. Lebedev read his translations to his Bengali friends. He was interested not only in their comments on the translations but also in their artistic evaluation, for after all the theatre had been conceived specially for the Bengalis.

An attempt to hire the East India Company's theatre for the performance was unsuccessful and other accommodation had to be found. Lebedev put in all his means to its reconstruction. The theatre was created, as Lebedev himself wrote, in the spirit of his "fellow countryman Fyodor Volkov of Yaroslavl",* and the curtains were made "to the Bengali taste". There were two performances given in the theatre–on November 27, 1795 and on March 21, 1796. "Asiatic inhabitants of the city of Calcutta and its environs" were the people who were chiefly invited. It was announced that if the performance "met with approval then the whole theatre would be entirely at the disposal of Asiatic subscribers". The audience filled the large hall, seating 300-400, to overflowing and the performances were a huge success. Very possibly it was precisely this success that was the cause of the subsequent misfortunes of the theatre and its founder. The management of the East India Company's theatre at first laughed at the Russian enthusiast's "Don Quixotry", but soon saw in him a serious competitor. Moreover, the very idea of a special theatre for the Asian inhabitants of Calcutta and its environs did not suit the policy of the British colonial administration in India. Lebedev was ruined as a result of various machinations. The actors left. The theatre building was burnt down. A number of suits were brought against its owner, which, in the end were acknowledged to be baseless, but which undermined Lebedev's health and nerves. He wrote about this period that "melancholy is more upsetting than the sun's heat by day". Deprived of his fortune, disillusioned in the possibility of his activity in India, full of indignation at the businessmen of the East India Company and the whole system of much-vaunted British justice and administration, Lebedev was obliged to leave Calcutta in 1797.

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* Fyodor Volkov founded Russia's first theatre for the general public.

After many misfortunes experienced on the way, after a forced stay in South Africa, the traveller turned up at the Russian legation in London. His twelve-year stay in India was over. In London he tried to have his works on India published. At first it was planned to publish "A Collection of Bengali and Indian Tunes". A notice of this appeared in the *Moskovskiye vedomosti* (Moscow Gazette) in 1799. In 1801 he succeeded in having the *Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East-Indian Dialects* printed, one of the first European grammars of modern Indian languages. For students of the Calcutta dialect of Hindustani at the end of the 18th century this work will never lose its importance. It is no accident that it has been republished in independent India. In 1801 Lebedev managed to return to St Petersburg where he was given a post as a specialist in Indian languages in the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Affairs Collegium. In addition funds were allotted for the publication of his scientific works. The first printing house in Europe to have type of an Indian language (Bengali) was founded in St Petersburg in 1802. Similar printing houses in other European countries appeared later, as, for example, Charles Wilkins's press in London was opened only in 1808. Lebedev's basic work on India entitled *An Impartial Review of the Systems of the East-Indian Brahmins, Their Sacred Rites and National Customs* was put out in St Petersburg in 1805. The first half of the book told of the mythology of the Indians, their cosmogonic conceptions and beliefs. The second part was devoted to a detailed description of the Indian calendar and astronomy. The third part was primarily about sacred rites, temples, popular customs and festivals. Interesting features of the Indian *varnas* and castes were contained here and an explanation of the origins of those outside the caste system was given. European sources played an insignificant part in the book, its basic material being from the author's own observations and oral information from his Bengali friends. As the record of a man who had lived in India for many years, Lebedev's book is of significance even today.

The allegorical interpretations of Indian myths and etymological constructions put forward by the author cannot, of course, be taken seriously today, nevertheless it must be remembered that even the researches of such leading 18th-century Indologists as William Jones were just as incomplete. For the Russian reader this book was the first well-founded acquaintance with Hinduism. But it was not simply an informative work, it contained an important general concept and was not called *An Impartial Review*... for nothing. The author constantly compares the religious conceptions of Hinduism with those of Christianity. According to him Hindus, like Christians, have the conception of a single, true God whom they call Brahma, and he calls the other Indian gods angels. He also found in India the idea of the Trinity. He considers Krishna (Krishto) to be the second person in the Trinity and the incarnation of the Son of God, comparing his name Krishto to the name Christ. Durga or Kali he interprets as the Wisdom of God, and in his opinion her image differs hardly at all from that of the Christian Mother of God. He finds only one difference—Kali's face is black. The book contains reproductions of Hindu religious images, basically of Durga, and allegorical interpretations are given to them. Her Feast Day is even celebrated in India, he notes, on the same day as the Christian Orthodox Church celebrates it. (Reading this, one involuntarily remembers the traditions of ancient Russian literature, where the Indian Tsar Ivan and the Rahmans are likened to the Orthodox Christians.) Lebedev compares the Hindu dharma (dhormo) with faith and the Divine Law, and the cycle of rituals (*Samskaras*) with the five ceremonial anointments. He considers the various categories of Indian Brahman priests to be comparable with the hierarchy in the Russian Orthodox Church. In his opinion likewise Indian temples are in some respects similar to Russian Orthodox churches. All this is not simply an attempt to explain unfamiliar beliefs and customs to the Russian reader by comparing them with those familiar to him; for the author the closeness of Hinduism to Christianity is deep and in no way accidental. It can scarcely be explained by the legend of the baptism of India by St Thomas. According to Lebedev divine truths were revealed by the Creator to the Indians just as they were to the Christians (and even earlier, insofar as India is considered by him to be the cradle of mankind). Likening the Indians to Christians gave the Christian believer the chance to escape religious intolerance. Lebedev writes that the Indians in no way resemble idolators, they "recognise one true God, and earlier than many Europeans kept Christ's law, the only distinction being that they more or less retain pagan superstitions, which even today, not only with them alone, are not entirely cleared away". A monistic interpretation of Indian religious philosophy and the bringing of it closer to Christian philosophy was not peculiar to Lebedev alone, but was shared by many representatives of European culture of the time as, for instance, William Jones. It was probably to be found among the Bengali intelligentsia with whom the Russian traveller associated. A little later these ideas were developed in the works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Lebedev writes a great deal about the ethics and customs of the Indians and talks of their piety, their observance of fasts, their cleanliness and tidiness, their aversion to drunkenness, bloodshed and meat-eating, the sacredness of their oath and the upbringing of children in the Law of God. He emphasises that "Indian manners and customs are not governed by any sort of superstitious legends, but are based on revelation and a prudential regard for rules."

Defending the Indians, Lebedev criticised the assessments of India and opinions on the activities of the British in that country that were beginning to appear in the European press. "Indians," he wrote, "in no way resemble savages and have more right to address this reproach to those who treat them more brutally, than the most bloodthirsty, ferocious wild beasts." He denounces the British, representatives "of the mercantile state", "arrogant newcomers, who, in their insatiable greed for wealth, disastrously for mankind, gobble up whole countries". On the contrary, the Indians themselves "have a conscience that is very tender, and are more inclined to justice", and only learn treachery from the Europeans trading with them. Lebedev's position on the British dominion in India accords with that taken up by the best representatives of Russian literature, A. Radishchev and N. Novikov. He does not idealise Indians. He writes about their superstitions and the "voluptuousness and splendour of the grandees". However, in his opinion, the British did not so much bring culture to India as they did ruin and depravity. "With all the oppression and tyranny carried out on them, with all the temptations put before them, they (the Indians) retain an inflexible piety that is worthy of imitation."

Lebedev emphasises that in the study of India there cannot be a monopoly of one country and the British are not able "without the help of others, to penetrate the innermost which the Creator implanted in those with a black skin". The British must put aside "their stupid pride, insulting to themselves", and "hearten the worker (in the field of Indian studies) whatever his nationality".

Lebedev saw the aim of his own work as the creation of what would "strengthen the mutual ties of friendship, desirable between nations, and unite the talents for re-establishing the common weal". At the same time he devotes great attention, naturally, to his own country, Russia. He tries to render "service to his native land" by making it better acquainted with India and her culture. He pays particular attention to the closeness there is between the Russians and the Indians not only in language but also in origins, religion and customs. While still in India he approached the Asiatic Society of Bengal with a work on the Indian alphabet, which reminded him of his own, Russian, alphabet.

It was not only Indian antiquities and marvels that attracted the Russian scholar; knowledge of India seemed to him to be essential "not purely for the sake of reading". He spoke of the desirability of continuing the attempts, undertaken during the reign of Peter the Great and Catherine II, to set up close relations with India. Lebedev considered that at the beginning of the 19th century "greater intercourse between Russia and India is springing up". "For the benefit ... of vast and prosperous Russia" he tried to get to know and learn the Indian languages and obtain "reliable and truthful information" about the peoples who had settled there at various times. Lebedev's work, *An Impartial Review*, concludes with a short chapter containing descriptions of the wealth of India, her goods, essential for Russia, which were brought via Europe, the story of India's trade with other states (Russian goods, reaching India via Europe are also mentioned). He ends his book with the words: "From which you may easily perceive, dear countrymen, what benefits we are losing on these necessities which foreigners supply us through so many trade turnovers." His idea of establishing direct trade relations with India reflects those plans which were constantly being discussed in Russia. When estimating the possibilities of Russian-Indian trade, G. Lebedev referred to the advice of "subjects of the Russian throne" who were in Calcutta. He probably meant the Armenian merchants.

Lebedev died in 1817. He left behind unpublished material for a Hindustani-Bengali-Russian phrase-book, a Bengali-Russian dictionary, essays on Indian arithmetic (and numerical symbolism) and others. A marble slab, with an epitaph to Gerasim Lebedev on it, is preserved in a Leningrad museum. It reads: "He was the first of Russia's sons to penetrate Eastern India, make lists of Indian customs and bring their language to Russia..."

In 1835 the library of the Asiatic Museum acquired a collection of Indian manuscripts collected by Lebedev, the first such collection in Russia. It included several Sanskrit works, the famous dictionary *Amarakosha*, the *Hitopadesha* and others.

Lebedev did not found a school of Russian Indology and many of his works were not printed. *An Impartial Review* soon began to seem obsolete in comparison with the works of other scholars which appeared as a result of the success of the rapidly developing European Indology. At the beginning of the 19th century the educated Russian public read about India chiefly in books written by German, French or English Indologists, while the works of their fellow countryman were unfortunately soon almost entirely forgotten. Like the travels of Afanasy Nikitin, the activities of Gerasim Lebedev did not lead to any radical change in the Russian ideas of India, and had no decisive meaning for the fortunes of Russian Indology. There is much that joins Lebedev with his distant predecessor, Nikitin. They were both persons of modest origins and means and neither one nor the other gained any profit from his stay in the fabulously rich India. The many years they lived in India were bound up with various hardships and persecution: one suffered at the hands of religious fanatics, the other was persecuted by officials and businessmen of the East India Company. They both found friends among the Indians, not among the grandees but from the middle class, and after their return home they both retained friendly feelings towards the Indians. Not very highly educated, but very desirous of learning, the Russian travellers left memoirs full of the most lively interest in India and sympathy for her people. Their works are important not only as historical sources, they are a symbol of good traditions in Russian-Indian cultural relations. It is not by chance that again and again, in both Russia and India, attention is turned to these famous men and their works.

## 3. Cultural Contacts with India of the Central Asian and Transcaucasian Peoples

The closest of ties between India and Central Asia (meant here is what are now the territories of the Soviet republics of Central Asia) have existed since hoary antiquity. Archaeological finds, which will be reviewed in a separate chapter, provide convincing evidence of this. The subject of Indian contacts with Central Asia in the ancient past is so vast that it needs a special monograph. At this point we shall only indicate the most important stages in the development of these contacts.

Archaeological excavations led by Soviet scholars of a number of Stone and Bronze Age cultures in Central Asia have revealed a similarity with cultures existing in North-West India of the same period. Discoveries in Southern Turkmenia are witness to the existence of stable economic and cultural links between Central Asia and North-West India at the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. Groups of Aryan tribes penetrated into the territory of the Indian subcontinent in the 2nd millennium B.C. Spreading out over Northern India and assimilating the local population, they made a most important contribution to the creation of ancient Indian civilisation. Iranian-speaking tribes, living both in Iran proper and on Central Asian territory, were closely related to the Indo-Aryans. The latest research by Soviet archaeologists contains interesting material on the original homeland and ancient migrations of Indo-Iranian tribes. Iranian-speaking peoples of Central Asia, such as the Bactrians, Khorezmians and Sogdians, long preserved in their material and spiritual culture those features which were common to the Aryans and made them akin with their kindred tribes that had gone South, to the Indian sub-continent. Comparison with material from Iranian sources (including Central Asian) is extremely important for the study of Indo-Aryans of the Vedic age. Central Asia underwent large-scale changes in the Middle Ages, Islam spread here, and the Iranian-speaking population was partially assimilated by the Turks. But even among the Turkic-speaking and Moslem population of Central Asia, for example, of Khorezm, it is possible to find beliefs and customs that are extremely close to those of ancient India. These beliefs and customs are a heritage from the culture of the original Iranian-speaking population of Khorezm. The people of Central Asia, in spite of the change of religion and ethnic changes, continued for a long time to preserve traditions going back to the ancient past of the Aryans.

During the formation of the great empires of antiquity, beginning with the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., parts of North-West India and Central Asia were quite often included in one and the same state. Thus, for example, both Central Asian satrapies—Bactria, Sogdiana and Khorezm, and Indian—Gandhara and Hindu, were included in the Achaemenian state. Political unification facilitated the strengthening of economic ties and the rapprochement of cultures. The formation of Alexander the Great's state and then that of the Seleucids and the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom similarly facilitated the development of Indian contacts with the outside world and in particular with regions of Afghanistan and Central Asia. In spite of limited information there can be no doubt that lively contacts were maintained with Central Asia in the time of the great ruler of India, Ashoka of the Maurya dynasty, whose state bordered directly onto the former. During the period of the decline of the Maurya state there were numerous settlers in North-West India from Central Asia and Indian states arose ruled by dynasties of Central Asian Scythians—Shakas. Contacts became particularly close early in the first centuries A.D., during the existence of the Kushana empire, which united some areas of Central Asia, Afghanistan and a considerable part of Northern India. The Kushana empire, one of the great powers of antiquity, has in recent years attracted the particular attention of various specialists—historians, archaeologists, linguists and art critics. A large-scale international conference on problems of history and archaeology of the Kushanas was held in 1968 in the USSR, in Dushanbe, capital of the Tajik SSR. Interest in Kushana history is explained not only by the fact that it is the most enigmatic and least studied of all the large periods of ancient history, but also because many important pages in the history of world culture are bound up with the Kushanas. The period during which the Kushana state existed was a time of intensive international contacts, of the broadest syncretism of various cultural traditions, primarily Indian, Hellenistic and Iranian. It was in this period that Indian culture became widespread. Buddhism, turning into a world religion, actively penetrated into regions of Central Asia and from there into China. A number of important Buddhist monuments has been found in the Soviet Central Asian republics, bearing witness to the fact that these regions played a very important part in the spread of Buddhism and Indian culture in Asia. That Indian cultural influence in this region remained intensive right up to the Moslem conquest is proved by finds of Buddhist sanctuaries, Indian inscriptions and much more. Indian literature was known in pre-Moslem Central Asia, in both the original form and in translations. Fragments of Sogdian manuscripts with translations of Buddhist works as well as fables from the *Pancatantra (Kalilah wa Dimnah)* have been found. Indian influence can be traced in paintings, for example, in Penjikent. The paintings bear witness to the possibility of the artists and their patrons being acquainted with didactic prose works and Indian epic literature. It should be borne in mind that many aspects of ancient Central Asian culture are still insufficiently studied and therefore a considerable amount of material on Central Asian-Indian cultural ties may be expected.

There had evidently been a lively trade between India and Central Asia from time immemorial. The Indian word "sartha"*—merchant, became the designation for the settled Iranian-speaking population of Central Asia (the Sarthas). In the opinion of the well-known Russian scholar, Academician Vasily Barthold, the name of the ancient city Bukhara comes from the Sanskrit *vihara* meaning a Buddhist monastery, and both in Bukhara and Samarkand there were city gates called "Naubeharian". V. Barthold suggested that in this name too there is an indication of the *vihara*, a Buddhist monastery once situated near the city gates. Subsequently a Moslem sanctuary arose on the site of one such *vihara* in Bukhara. The religious schools of the Moslems, the madrasahs, he also drew from the Buddhist *vihara* and considered it no accident that they took shape primarily in the eastern regions of the Moslem world.

After the Moslem conquest Central Asia became part of the Islamic world. Its literature came to be written predominantly in Arabic and Persian. There can be no doubt about the considerable influence of India on the culture of the Arab Caliphate as a whole. A stable image of India had already been formed in early Arab literature, and was passed on from one work to another. On the one hand, India was represented as a country of wonders, where the most improbable adventures awaited the traveller, and fantastic legends were linked with her, borrowed both from other states and from ancient Arabia. On the other hand, one meets quite early in Arabic literature reliable information of the geography of India, trade routes and Indian goods, which, obviously, reflects long-standing and very stable relations between India and the Middle East. The second half of the 8th century was particularly important for Indo-Arab relations. Embassies from India came to the courts of the Caliph al-Mansur and the famous Harun al-Rashid. Indian scholars were often part of these embassies. A wide acquaintance with Indian literature was being formed in the Caliphate in the 8th century from works translated into Arabic (from the Persian, or directly, with the aid of Indian scholars). In the scientific field Indian books on astronomy were particularly well known, for example, Brahmagupta's treatise, and similarly mathematical and medical works. Didactic works, such as *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, were also very popular. A multitude of Indian topics and motifs penetrated Arab literature of the period. It is an interesting fact that the structure of the Indian "tale within a tale" served as basis for such ancient texts as the *Thousand and One Nights*. Harun al-Rashid's vizier, Yahya ibn Khalid Barmaki sent special missions to India to collect medicines and information about Indian plants. He patronised translators who acquainted the Arabs with Indian works on different subjects: on astrology and poisons, divinations and philosophy, rhetoric, etc. General works were also written at that time, setting out Indian beliefs and customs.

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* Literally, a man who is in possession of money.

The contribution of natives of Central Asia, connected with India from time immemorial, to this great work was quite significant. Yahya ibn Khalid's interest in India is perhaps explained by long-standing Indian connections of his family, and it is suggested that his ancestor, Barmak, was a priest in a Buddhist monastery in Balkh (Paramaka). Indian astronomy was disseminated among the Arabs thanks to the so-called *Small Sindhind* (Siddhanta) translated by Musa Khorezmi, that is, a native of Khorezm. He also wrote a treatise on mathematics under the title *A Book of Reckoning Using Indian Figures*, from which Indian mathematics came to be known not only in the Arab East, but in medieval Europe also (thanks to a 12th-century Latin translation). Baghdad and Damascus, the cultural centres of the Caliphate, were the meeting place for Indian and Central Asian scholars.

By the beginning of the 11th century a considerable amount of information on India had been collected in Arabic scientific works, including those of scientists living in Central Asia. Thus, the famous scientist Ibn Sina in his work *The Canon of Medical Science* makes frequent references to Indian medicines and methods of treatment. He undoubtedly knew the 8th-century Arabic translation of the ancient Indian *Caraka-samhita*.

The most remarkable page in the history of Central Asian-Indian cultural relations in the Middle Ages is bound up with al-Biruni (973-1048). Biruni was by birth a native of Kiat, the chief city of Khorezm. Throughout his life he regarded himself as a Khorezmian, saying that in both the Arab and the Persian tongues he was a "stranger". From his earliest years he displayed an unusual thirst for knowledge. In his many-sided scientific works one senses a knowledge of wide area of literature in many foreign languages: not only in Arabic and Persian, but also in Sogdian, Syrian, Hebrew, Sanskrit and possibly classical Greek. This interest displayed by Biruni in the literature of different peoples in the original speaks not only of the great scholar's conscientiousness, but also his complete lack of national or religious prejudice which would interfere with scientific research.

Biruni spent his youth in Khorezm where he took part in political life and where he developed as a scientist. He apparently showed an interest in India early in life, for his encyclopaedic work *Chronology of Ancient Nations* reveals a profound knowledge of Arab-Persian scientific literature on India. In 1017 Khorezm was conquered by the troops of Mahmud of Ghazni and Biruni was taken away by the conquerors. Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India several times and occupied part of her territory.

Evidently the scholar from Khorezm accompanied Mahmud's soldiers to the valley of the Kabul, to the Punjab and Multan, and lived for a long time in India. In the fortress of Nandna he made a surprisingly accurate calculation of the Earth's radius. Some of his most important conclusions anticipated modern scientific knowledge about the geological past of the Indian sub-continent. Finding himself in India as a result of Mahmud's conquest, Biruni was not an enslaver but a representative of the conquered population of Khorezm; his position under Mahmud was not entirely independent. He could not, undoubtedly, express his opinion of Mahmud's "holy" wars in his works. Nevertheless he displayed selfless interest and deep respect for the conquered nations and their ancient culture.

Biruni's best known work is his *Interpretation of doctrines pertaining to the Indians, accepted as reasonable or repudiated*, called for short *Kitab-ul-*

*Hind (Book of India)* and finished by 1030 A.D. Even before Biruni, Arab science had shown an interest in India. Among his contemporaries there were, according to him, "many zealous admirers of Indian science". In some of their works, which have not been preserved, they conducted a dispute with the Indians on a number of religious and philosophical questions. Incidentally, according to Biruni, the information about Indian religion and philosophy contained in these works was not distinguished by authenticity. Biruni set about his elaboration of the topic with characteristic thoroughness. The well-known Russian Orientalist Academician Viktor Rozen described the *Book of India* as a relic "the only one of its kind, having no equal in the whole of Western and Eastern literature, both ancient and medieval". Similar appraisals of the *Book of India* are frequent in scientific literature. The content of the *Book of India* is considerably broader than might be expected from its title. It is an encyclopaedia of Indian religion, philosophy, science, literature, customs and rites, and represents a quite comprehensive collection of the characteristic features of Indian civilisation. In the Middle Ages, no other civilisation, neither earlier nor later, had been described so thoroughly. In order to carry out his stupendous work Biruni studied Sanskrit and read such Sanskrit texts as the *Bhagavadgita*, *Patanjala* and Gaudapada's commentary on *Samkhya-karika*. He frequently refers to special astronomical works–*Siddhantas*, and also to *Puranas (Vishnupurana* and *Vishnudharmottara)*. He had to overcome a great many difficulties in order to complete the work: the study of the language, searching for and reading manuscripts was a very complicated process. Biruni wrote: "...Without stinting, I spent, as far as possible, all my efforts and means on collecting Indian books wherever there was a possibility of finding them, and I sought out everyone who knew where they were to be found." One of the most serious barriers was that of lack of understanding between different civilisations–the representatives of Islam and the Hindu scholars. In addition, Indian scholars, Biruni's contemporaries, "grudged their knowledge" and "guarded it extremely zealously from Indians not connected with the sciences, to say nothing of others". They regarded it as "inconceivable that any other nation might possess knowledge or science".

The division between "Indians and all foreigners" had come about for political and religious reasons. Biruni set himself the task of overcoming this division, warning the reader that his book contained not so much a criticism of Indian views, but a precise transmission of them. The impartiality of his exposition of a strange religion and the accuracy of transmission of most complicated tenets of Indian philosophical theories are striking.

His sound knowledge of Sanskrit is shown by the fact that over two and a half thousand Sanskrit words are included in the *Book of India*. But he did not rely exclusively on written sources; no less important were his personal contacts and his first-hand observations when he lived in India. The transcription of Sanskrit words shows the influence of his native teachers' pronunciation. More than once he wrote that the Indians had either translated for him or retold for him their scientific or religious texts. His basic source of information were undoubtedly the Brahmans. Biruni constantly compared information obtained from various people with that obtained from written sources. His knowledge of Sanskrit was sufficient for him to be able to make his own translations. It was very typical of Biruni that he not only made translations from Sanskrit into Arabic, with the aim of acquainting his fellow countrymen with the achievements of the Indians, but also from Arabic into Sanskrit, thus acting as intermediary between the two great cultural traditions. The *Book of India* and other works of his contain, from time to time, criticism of some Indian scholars, of their vanity, excessive resort to Revelation in theory, to magic and spells in practice. But this criticism is always well-founded and purposeful, and does not refer to Indians in general but to the greedy Brahmans making use of the superstition of the people, and to the arrogant orthodoxy betraying all that is best in the ancient cultural heritage of India. Biruni preserves a surprising, scientific impartiality and respect for India even when describing customs and views unacceptable to Moslems. He does not try to discredit or ridicule the strangenesses of a different culture, but to understand it as fully as possible and extract what is most valuable in it. "I do not refuse to accept truth in whatever 'mine' I might find it," he says. In this respect Biruni continues the traditions of the best representatives of Arab science such as Eranshahri. It is feasible that this tolerance was nurtured to some extent by the conditions in Khorezm, the outskirts of the Moslem world, where different cultural traditions merged.

An interest in India and knowledge of the country can be felt in all his works. In *Pharmacognosy* Biruni puts forward several hundred Indian terms and expresses admiration for Indian doctors, who "make surprisingly correct diagnoses". His *Mineralogy* similarly gives the Indian names of stones and sometimes renders important information on the Indians' manners and customs. In a list of his works, which he compiled *c*. 1035 A.D., names of more than twenty works, directly connected with India, are given: essays on Indian theories of astrology and on methods of calculation contained in the *Brahmasiddhanta*, answers to the questions of Indian astronomers and Kashmiri scholars. He translated an Indian treatise on diseases and the philosophical essay by Patanjali on the "liberation from bonds", an Indian narrative about the blue lotus and a *Treatise on Vasudeva of the Indians in His Next Appearance*, and was preparing to make a new translation of the *Pancatantra*. Unfortunately, not all these works have survived, some were found only recently and research on them has only just begun. Several later Arab sources say that Biruni was a native of India. This opinion is undoubtedly explained by the fact that Biruni's interest in and knowledge of Indian life and culture made India his second homeland, as it were.

The study of Biruni's life and activities receives great attention in the Soviet Union: monographs and collections of articles about him are published, a collection of his works has been brought out in Russian and Uzbek simultaneously. Biruni is a representative of the Arab-language science of the vast Moslem world, nevertheless in the Soviet Union just pride is felt in the fact that his birthplace was Khorezm. The Soviet Central Asian republics are entitled to consider Biruni a representative of their own medieval Indology.

Active contacts between India and Central Asia were established in the 13th-14th centuries. The nobility of the Delhi Sultanate was connected with Central Asia by origin, kinship and religion. It was precisely to India that the last Khorezm Shah Jalal-ud-din fled in 1221, escaping from the Mongol invasion, and in the 14th century it was to India, to the Tughlak kingdom, that the Central Asian aristocracy went and settled there. Some outstanding representatives of Indian culture were of Central Asian descent. The famous 12th-13th century writer Mohammad Aufi was born in Bukhara and lived and died in Delhi. His *Collected Stories and Brilliant Legends* include narratives on Maverannahr and India. He compiled an anthology of Persian poets which contains verses by poets from Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran and India. In the cultural sense these areas in general composed a single, unified region. The family of the great Indian poet Amir Khusro came from Shahresabz in Central Asia. The influence of Amir Khusro on the classic of Uzbek literature Alisher Navoi is well known. The Indian poet Badr-ud-din Chachi (14th century) came from Tashkent. After Tamerlane's campaigns to India skilled workmen were brought from there and they took part in the building of the mosque Bibi-Khanum in Samarkand. One quite recently met with settlements in Central Asia whose names included the word *hinduwan*. According to local tradition Indians brought by Tamerlane used to live there. In the 15th century Delhi was tributary to Shahrukh, son of Tamerlane, and Shahrukh's government maintained close contacts with Bengal, Calicut and Vijayanagara. One of the embassies to the Indian states at this time was headed by Abdurazzak Samarkandi, who left interesting notes on India, one of the most important works on this subject after Biruni's *Book of India*. Samarkandi's notes contain a large amount of material on the riches of India, her fortresses, court procedures, popular beliefs, temples, festivals, etc.

Central Asian poets—Navoi, Jami and others, continued to maintain close contacts with Indian poets in the 15th century.

At the beginning of the 16th century the Delhi lands were conquered by the former ruler of Fergana, Babur, of the house of Tamerlane. Babur became the founder of the dynasty known as the Moguls. In his notes *Babur-nama* he described India with amazement, calling it a "surprising country", but to the end of his days he pined for his native land, and his descendants sought to maintain connections with Central Asia. There were regular exchanges of embassies, and trading caravans were sent out. Scholars, poets, miniature painters and calligraphists from Central Asia visited India during the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb, and the so-called Indian style became widespread in Central Asian poetry. After the subjugation and ravaging of India by Britain there was a noticeable fall in her foreign contacts. Nevertheless, more or less close contacts with Central Asia were preserved right up to the very end of the 19th century.

The first contacts between India and Transcaucasia also go back to very ancient times. The Greek geographer Strabo wrote about the commercial transit route through Caucasian Albania by which Indian goods reached the Black Sea. The sources of Strabo's information were the reports of Patroclus, governor of the region near the Caspian Sea (early 3rd century B.C.). Relying on Varro, the Roman geographer Pliny the Elder also described this route from India via Bactria, the Caspian, the river Kura to the city of Fassiss (Poti) on the Black Sea shore. Finds of Indian cowrie shells in Transcaucasia, Indo-Bactrian coins of the 2nd century B.C. in the city of Tbilisi, etc., serve to corroborate the ancient ties between Transcaucasia and India.

The mythology of one of the Transcaucasian nations, the Armenian, has much in common with Indian mythology. Thus, it has long been established that the popular cult of Vahagn corresponds to the Vedic Indra ("the slayer of Vritra"—the Iranian Verethragna). When Armenia was converted to Christianity a number of pagan cults survived in hidden form, and the functions of the ancient gods were transferred to Christian saints, for instance the features of Vahagn were transferred to Saint Karapet, and so on. The resemblance between ancient Armenian and Vedic mythology can be explained to some extent by their common Indo-European origin, but chiefly by subsequent ancient Iranian influence on the Armenians. A specific problem is posed by the fact that in texts of the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. connected with the Hurrians one finds Aryan vocabulary as well as by the possibility of the migration, across the Caucasus, of a group of tribes close to the Vedic Aryans of India. Aryans of the 2nd millennium B.C. could have left their imprint on the ancient cultural traditions of this region.

In the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., Armenia, then part of the realm of the Achaemenids, could have had direct contacts with the Indian satrapies of Persia. These contacts were preserved in the Hellenistic period also. There is a legend in ancient Armenian literature of an Indian colony in the Armenian region of Taron. The *History of Taron*, attributed to Ioann Mamikonyan, tells of two Indian princes, Demeter and Gissanah, who fled from India and arrived in Armenia via Parthia. The "Indian Colony", which revered Demeter and Gissanah as gods, would seem to have existed practically up to the close of the 3rd century, that is up to the conversion of the country to Christianity. The historical authenticity of this tradition is doubtful as the name Demeter is clearly Greek, and an Armenian etymology is usually found for Gissanah. None the less, tradition persistently couples the origins of the Mamikonyan family with this colony, and as yet the possibility of migration to Armenia from North-West India or from neighbouring regions, for example, Graeco-Bactria, cannot be categorically discarded.

A written Armenian literature began to appear after the Christianisation of the country. It contained information about India, basically borrowed from Syrian and Greek literatures. Among the earliest relics translated into Armenian we meet the *Physiologus* and the *Romance of Alexander* by pseudo-Callisthenes, that is, works popular with other Christian nations during the Middle Ages and containing information about India. However, ancient Armenian literary texts sometimes also throw light on the political history and geography of India in those days, drawing on Greek, Syrian and possibly Iranian sources. The Armenian historian, Moses of Khoren (5th century) tells of the conflict of Khusro and Ardashir on the Indian frontiers and of the relations between India and the Sassanids in the 4th century. Another historian of the same period, Elisaeus, reports on the spread of Christianity among the Kushanas and on to India. Evidence of the Kushanas is also found in the works by Faustus of Byzantium and other Armenian authors of the middle of the 1st millennium.

Inhabitants of Transcaucasia set off for India together with Byzantians. Georgian versions of Greek "Traveller's Aids"—descriptions of routes to India—have been preserved. They reflect ideas of India typical of late Graeco-Roman and early Byzantine literature, and tell of the precious stones of India and of her unusually long-lived people, of the blessed people living near the river Fison, who are "not for Christ and not with Christ", but are all "God-fearing and upright". Similar information is contained in the 7th-century Armenian *Geography*, now attributed to Ananias of Shirak. In the description of India attention is directed to the real animals—crocodiles, monkeys, elephants, and also to the fantastic ones: "lion-ants", etc., and references are made to the "gymnosophists" (naked wise men), who do not "engage in iniquitous matters and do not eat the flesh of animals". In his description of India the author of the *Geography* followed the Graeco-Roman and early-Byzantine authors such as Cosmas Indicopleustes. Quite possibly the Armenians, together with the Syrians, reached Southern India because there is an account of an Armenian, Thomas by name, trading in Malabar in the 8th century.

Towards the end of the 1st millennium a Georgian edition of the *Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph* appeared, it was based on either the Syrian or Arab version and was called *Balavariani*. It gained wide popularity as is evidenced by the existence of several Georgian versions. The Georgian *Balavariani* is of special interest because, according to several Greek manuscripts, the Greek version was a translation from the Georgian, moreover it was done by Euthymius Iber, that is, a Georgian. If this information is to be believed, then the Georgian *Romance* is the very same text, thanks to which the biography of the "Indian prince" (bodhisattva) was disseminated over all Christian countries, and medieval Europe formed its image of India from it. *The Life of the Indian Prince Joasaph* also appeared in Armenian literature.

Under the influence of translated and other works connected with India—*Alexandria*, the *Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph*—an image of this country took shape in Armenian and Georgian literatures. In Shot'ha Rust'hveli's classical Georgian poem *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, written in the 12th century, the chief characters, brave Tariel and the beautiful Nestan-Darejan are presented as Indians. Tariel's father was "one of the seven sovereigns of Hindustan", and Tariel himself is called "Ruler of the Inds". Although Rust'hveli's Hindustan is a fabulous, conventional country, its introduction into the poem shows the stability and popularity of this image of India. A certain amount of trustworthy information on India and the surrounding countries is also to be found in Rust'hveli, and in some episodes of the poem one can feel a certain influence of the *Balavariani*.

The *Romance of Alexander*, which deals, in particular, with India, enjoyed great popularity in Transcaucasia and in other regions. In the 13th century the Armenian writer Khachatour Kecharetsi wrote the *Story of Alexander*. The classical author of Azerbaijan (Persian-language) literature, Nizami of Ganja, in the 13th century described in *Iskander-nama* Alexander the Great's campaign to India and his conversations with the Indian sages. Nizami's poem influenced the similar composition by Amir Khusro Dehalevi.

Information about Transcaucasian contacts with India prior to the 15th century are fragmentary and incidental, but there is no doubt that these contacts were never broken off entirely. In particular, evidence of this is provided by data on the geography of India in medieval Armenian literature. Thus, in the 12th century a special Armenian guide-book on India was compiled. Besides merchants, Christian missionaries also turned up in India. In 14th-century Chaul, for example, we meet a Georgian missionary from Tiflis (now Tbilisi). At the beginning of the 15th century Tamerlane made extensive conquests both in India and Transcaucasia. He carried off to the East part of the population of the Georgian kingdoms; however, some managed to return to their homeland many years later. In 1449 the ambassador of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI, Palaeologus, talked to a Georgian who had managed to return to Tiflis after living for some time in India.

Stable trading relations between India and Transcaucasia were set up in the

16th and 17th centuries, at which time Armenian trading colonies were established in large Iranian towns, and from Iran the Armenian merchants penetrated to India. In the 17th century an employee of the East India Company, François Martin, noted that in Malabar "Armenians, who have been based there since times immemorial, were engaged actively in trading... There were Armenian families there whose fortunes amounted to millions." The Armenian colony in Malabar was quite numerous, and 16th- and 17th-century relics and inscriptions relating to it have come down to us. Sizeable Armenian colonies appeared in Madras and then in Bombay and Calcutta. The heyday of Armenian activities in India relates to the time of the Great Moguls. An Armenian colony arose in Agra during the reign of Akbar, who gave it his protection. An Armenian church was built in Agra and Archbishop Zakharius came there from the Echmiadzin, the Armenian religious centre. European travellers and missionaries in India frequently mention the Armenians, many of whom we know by name. The chief judge in the reign of Akbar was Abdulhai (an Armenian) and one of Akbar's wives was an Armenian. We also know of an Armenian court physician, an Armenian translator from Portuguese and so on. The son of the Armenian merchant Akop-Jan, the well-known Zul-Karnain, became governor of one of the regions of India. He wrote verses and songs included in anthologies of Indian literature (the collection *Ragmala*).

There were Armenian colonies in many parts of India—Gwalior and Lahore, Dacca and Delhi, Lucknow, Pondicherry and other places. There were apparently tens of thousands of Armenians in India. A particularly large number of them settled there in the middle of the 17th century after Christians began to be persecuted in Iran. The religious tolerance of the Indians helped them find a second homeland. A large proportion of the Armenians were engaged in trading enterprises, but they also included craftsmen, servants and labourers. Armenian merchants maintained close ties with other countries, Iran, Turkey, Russia, and, of course, Armenia. Articles made by jewellers living in India are preserved in the Yerevan History Museum and in Armenian churches. Indian wares made from precious stones and metals—gifts from Armenian merchants to the Russian tsar in the mid-17th century—are also exhibited in the Armoury,* in the Moscow Kremlin.

From the middle of the 18th century, when the influence of the East India Company had become firmly established in India, the British began to victimise Armenian merchants and assist in their ruin. At this period Armenians frequently fought alongside the Indians against the British. The military commander of the last nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was Grigory Harutyunian, who fought the British in the 1760s. He became one of the main heroes in the romance *Candrashekhar*, created by the classical Bengali author Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya.

A considerable number of books on India were written in Armenia in the 17th and 18th centuries, but unfortunately this literature has not been studied extensively so far. Great attention is being given to its investigation and publication in the Soviet Union. Among books devoted to India the *Textbook for Commercial Schools* should be mentioned. Written by Konstand Joughayetsi, it is an important source for the economic history of India in the 16th and 17th centuries. Armenian reference books of this period also contain spacious chapters on India. The description of India is given partially according to the ancient Christian literary tradition: "The Brahmans are people clean and upright, they live a simple and modest life. They permit nothing unlawful. They are in general satisfied with the gifts of Nature... Indians like peaceful life. They never offend one another... There is no dishonesty in their words."

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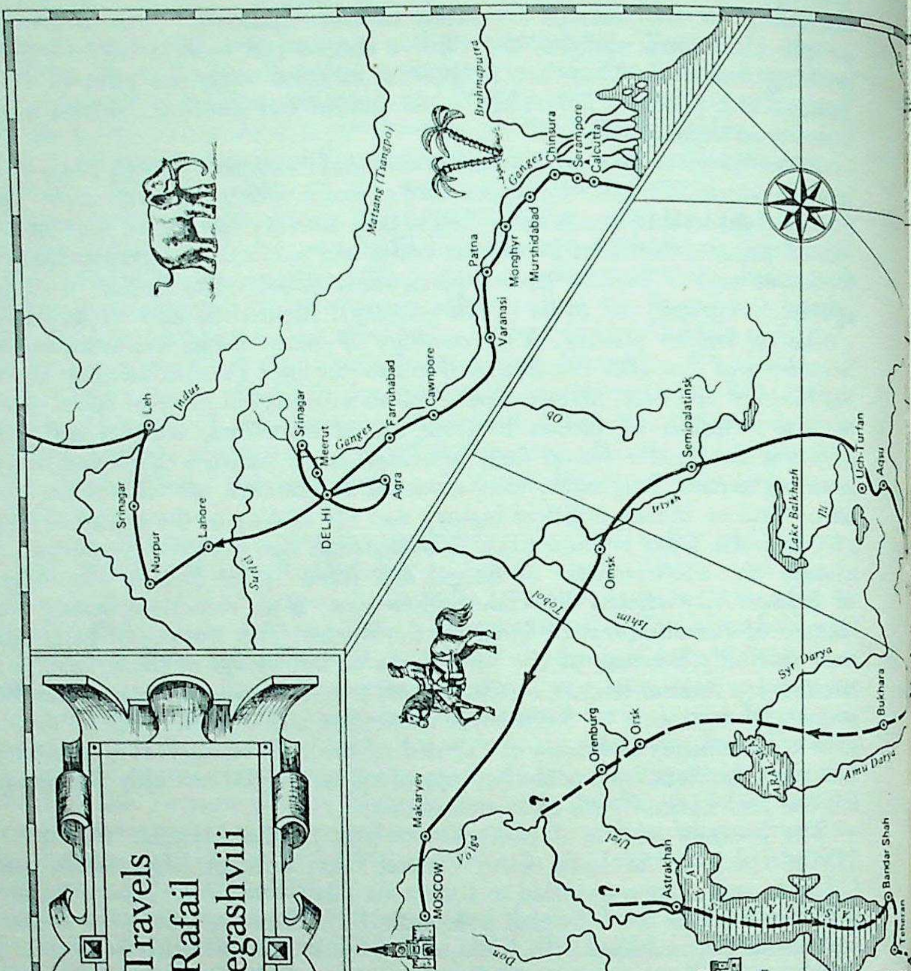
* The Armoury is the largest museum in the Moscow Kremlin. Its collection consists of costly articles of the Russian tsars.

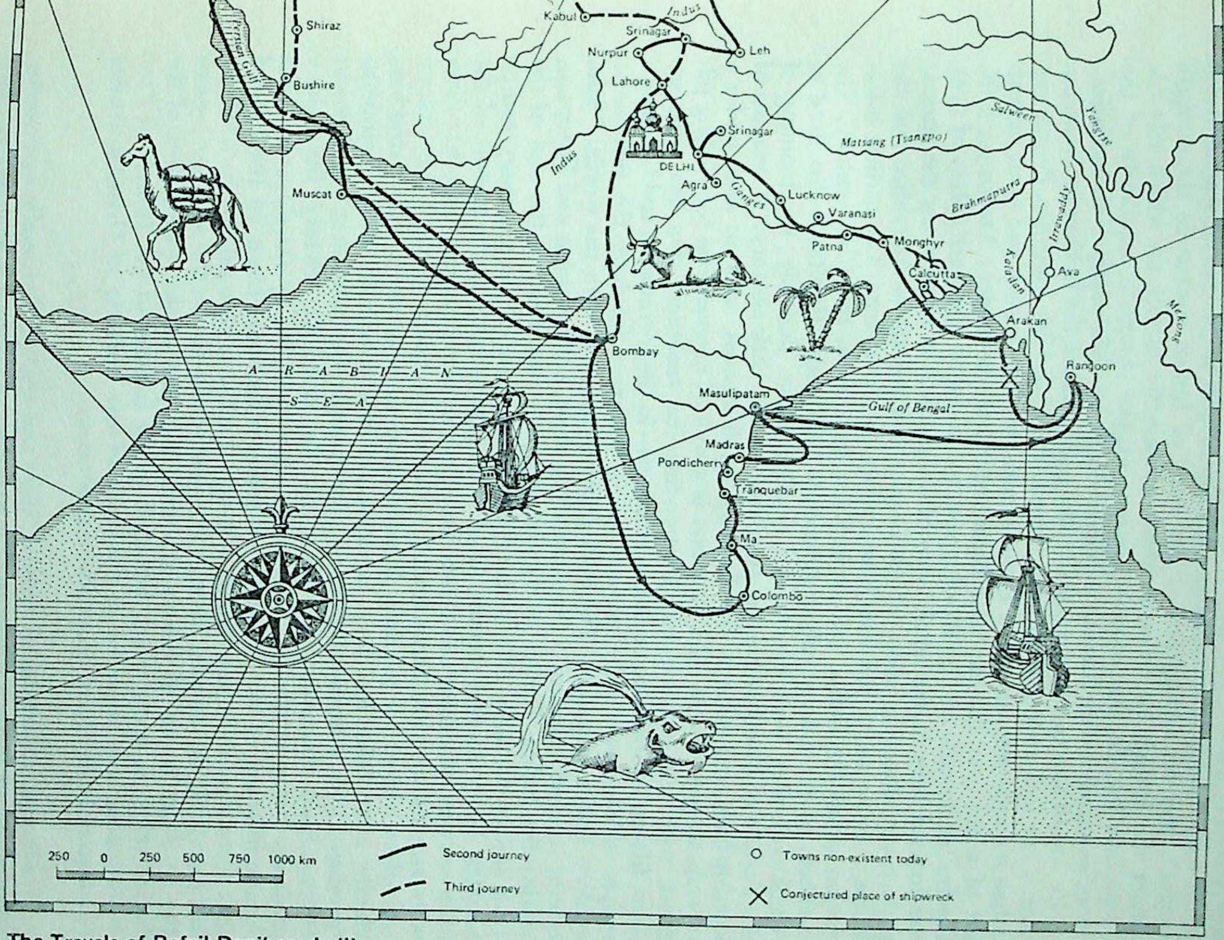
In addition Armenian manuscripts contain extensive descriptions of India, her economic life, goods, religion, and customs. One manuscript says: "Indians live in comfortable towns and villages, they are very intelligent, wise and quick-witted people, excellent in various crafts and science." The Armenian scholars O. Gover and G. Injijian gave a particularly detailed description of India in a special *Geography of India* (18th century). Armenians also wrote important works on Indian history. A *Chronology of Indian Kings* was compiled at the beginning of the 18th century, and somewhat later Tovmas Khojamalian wrote his *History of India*, mainly from Persian sources. He devoted much attention to a description of Indian religion, sacred reservoirs, temples and rites. In addition the reader found in it information on Indian weights and measures, customs duties, languages, etc., essential in practical life; there was likewise an outline of Indian political history and the history of the spread of Christianity in India from ancient times. Khojamalian also gave very important information on the conquest of Bengal and Bihar by the British. The biography of Hyder Ali, written by Hakop Simonian, is an important source for the history of the conquest of India by the British. This work is of great significance not only because of the wide scope of knowledge of the author, but also because his version enables one to correct tendentious information from British sources. A textbook of Sanskrit, in Armenian, was written in one of the Armenian communities in Russia at the end of the 18th century. It is an interesting fact that the Sanskrit vocabulary appended to it gives not only Russian parallels but also Latin, Greek and Georgian ones.

The journey of the Armenian merchant Danila Atanasov relates to the 1790s. He went to India from Central Asia, through Afghanistan, reached Calcutta and thence travelled to Russia via Tibet. Even more interesting are the Indian travels of the Georgian nobleman, Rafail Danibegashvili. His family had traditional connections with India, where his father had often been on official missions. In the course of his first journey to India Danibegashvili carried a message from the Georgian King Iraklii II to the wealthy Armenian merchant Yakov (Hakop) Shahamirian. Close connections were maintained between the Transcaucasian sovereigns and the Armenians in India. Danibegashvili was in India no less than five times, he lived there for a total period of about eighteen years. He made his last journey after Georgia had been incorporated into Russia. His book telling about India was published in Moscow, in Russian. In the foreword the author says that he wished to pass on all that he had seen to his "Russian fellow countrymen". Danibegashvili's work contains a description of the journey itself, and also short digressions on Indian religious customs, funeral ceremonies in Bengal and the sacred city of Benares and so on. He tells of Indian fruits, such as the pineapple, of the remarkable Kashmir shawls, and of course, as befits a Christian traveller, of the place where St Thomas was buried. But together with these colourful and exotic details he also tells of



The Travels of Rafail Danibegashvili

Leh
Indus
Srinagar
Nurpur
Lahore
Sutlej
DELHI
Agra
Meerut
Srinagar
Ganges
Farruhabad
Cawnpore
Varanasi
Patna
Monghyr
Murshidabad
Chinsura
Serampore
Calcutta
Ganges
Brahmaputra
Matsang (Tsangpo)
Ob
Semipalatinsk
Irtysh
Omsk
Tobol
Ishim
Uch-Turfan
Aqsu
Lake Balkhash
Ili
Syr Darya
Bukhara
Amu Darya
ARAL
Orsk
Orenburg
Ural
?
Makaryev
MOSCOW
Volga
Don
Astrakhan
?
CASPIAN SEA
Bandar Shah
Teheran
Isfahan
TBILISI
Akhaltsikhe
Dnieper
BLACK SEA
Yirmak
Erzurum
Mush
Fala
Ergani
Diyarbekir
Mardin
Mosul
Baghdad
Basra


Shiraz
Persian Gulf
Bushire
Muscat
Kabul
Indus
Srinagar
Nurpur
Leh
Lahore
Srinagar
DELHI
Agra
Ganges
Lucknow
Varanasi
Patna
Monghyr
Calcutta
Matsang (Tsangpo)
Salween
Yangtse
Brahmaputra
Irrawaddy
Kaladan
Ava
Arakan
Mekong
Rangoon
Indus
Bombay
A R A B I A N
S E A
Masulipatam
Gulf of Bengal
Madras
Pondicherry
Tranquebar
Ma
Colombo
250 0 250 500 750 1000 km
Second journey
Third journey
Towns non-existent today
Conjectured place of shipwreck

**The Travels of Rafail Danibegashvili**

events of his own day, of the "failures of the British in the struggle with the people of India", who do not want to submit to those who are "taking away their freedom". He avoids political assessments, nevertheless his reference to the fact that the British impose a duty on "access to the sacred waters of the Ganges", and his description of the feats of Indian women in the struggle against the British for freedom show sufficiently clearly on which side his sympathies lay. In this respect we can see the complete unanimity of the Georgian traveller with Russian publicists of the late 18th-early 19th centuries.

We would like to say yet a few more words about the Indians in Transcaucasia. They had undoubtedly been there in the 17th-18th centuries. Permanent Indian colonies also existed in Transcaucasia, the best known and most important of which was the one near Baku, capital of the present Azerbaijan SSR. The Indian Temple of Fire-Worshippers, the so-called Ateshgah (place of fire), was located here in the small town of Surahani. It is situated on the ancient trade route along the shore of the Caspian Sea leading to Astrakhan and the Volga, a route which had long been known to the Indians. The earliest information about the Indian colony in Baku dates from the 17th century. The members of the colony called themselves "Multanis" (Multanis also lived in Astrakhan), they were Hindus and possibly Sikhs. Basically, the building of the Temple of Fire-Worshippers goes back to the 18th century. It consists of worship-halls and cells in the form of small alcoves, with an altar under a rotunda-shaped cupola. The structure is a sort of caravanserai for visiting pilgrims, with a castellated wall surrounding the sanctuary. On the walls are some fifteen inscriptions in Indian languages—in the Devanagari and Gurmukhi scripts, shlokas and some phrases are in incorrect Sanskrit; the rest are in modern Indian languages. The inscriptions often start with the words: "Salutations to Shri Ganesha! " Numerous travellers, both Russian and European, visiting the Indian Temple of Fire-Worshippers near Baku at the end of the 18th and in the early 19th century, left descriptions of the sanctuary and its inmates. Forty to fifty hermits lived there permanently in the middle of the 18th century, practising asceticism. Travellers reported, for example, that there were ascetics who had been standing with one arm raised for years. The colony was often visited by pilgrims. It maintained close contacts with Astrakhan, chiefly after Baku had been incorporated into Russia in 1806. Astrakhan merchants gave it financial assistance, for example, the Astrakhan entrepreneur Uttamachand Mohandas, an Indian. By the mid-19th century the colony gradually began to decline. A scientific expedition, led by the director of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences Bernhard Dorn, in 1860 found that there were only five Indians left—all of them temple priests. In 1883 the last priest left the temple, having extinguished the fire on the altar. At present the Ateshgah is one of Baku's museums, and part of the manuscripts of the Indian religious texts, which belonged to the inmates of the Temple of Fire-Worshippers, are preserved in the stock of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Leningrad Branch) and other Soviet collections.

Trade and migrations of peoples, visits and travels, diplomatic agreements, translations of literary works and the exchange of cultural achievements—India and various regions of Central Asia and Transcaucasia have long been connected in the most diverse ways. In the chronicles of the historical destinies of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet republics one often meets the word "India".

Historical and cultural ties between the peoples of Russia and India have to a large extent determined the great interest in the history and culture of her peoples, promoted the wide development of research on India and the creation of a well-founded and distinctly authoritative school of Indology in Russia.

# Chapter II. The Study of Ancient Indian Civilisation in Russia
## (19th – early 20th centuries)

### 1. Sanskrit Studies in Russia in the Early Half of the 19th Century

Important discoveries were made in Oriental studies in Europe during the first decades of the 19th century, and scientific Oriental research studies came into being. The study of ancient India, and especially her classical language—Sanskrit, occupied a most important place during those years. The first research centre for the scientific study of ancient history and culture in India was the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Indologists of the Asiatic Society had a wide circle of interests but in the main their attention was focussed on the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit literature.

At the beginning of the 19th century such prominent Sanskrit scholars as the Englishman Horace Wilson, and the Frenchman Antoine L. Chézy and his pupils were at work in Europe, but Sanskrit studies were especially developed in Germany. Its pioneers were the well-known Romanticists, philosophers and poets, the brothers Friedrich and August-Wilhelm Schlegel. Their attitude towards the culture of ancient India was one of great admiration. They compared the Indian civilisation with the classical civilisations of Greece and Rome and found a definite connection between them. They overestimated the ancient age of Indian culture and considered it to be the source of the Middle Eastern, Greek and Roman cultures. Friedrich Schlegel's letter of 1803 to his friend and comrade, the poet Ludwig Tieck, is typical of this concept. Writing about Sanskrit, which he had begun to study, Schlegel says: "Herein is the source of all languages, all ideas and poesy of the human spirit; all without exception come from India. I have been looking at everything quite differently since I gained access to this source." His brother, August-Wilhelm, became the founder of a school of German Sanskrit studies. A new branch of science, comparative linguistics, came into being, originating in the concept of Sanskrit as the "source and base of all languages". One of the founders of comparative linguistics was August-Wilhelm Schlegel's pupil—Franz Bopp. The merit of substantiating the theory of the Indo-European family of languages belongs to him and it is thanks to him that scientific etymological analysis and comparative grammar were developed. Indo-European studies became the scientific basis of 19th-century Sanskrit studies.

Indologists were concentrating mainly on ancient relics of Sanskrit literature and on problems connected with reconstruction of the original structure of the language and mythology of the ancient Indians and further back to the time of Indo-European unity. In the mid-19th century, due to the success of comparative linguistics, some new disciplines arose, such as comparative ethnology, comparative jurisprudence, etc. Theodor Benfey, one of the founders of the comparative study of folklore, considered India to be the birthplace of the majority of folklore themes. Many scholars working on comparative mythology, such as, for example, the German Sanskrit scholars Max Müller and Adalbert Kuhn, frequently equated ancient Indian mythology with proto-Indo-European mythology.

The active economic and political penetration of the leading West European countries into Asia facilitated the more active development of Oriental studies; however, the ideology of colonialism had a most unfavourable influence on scientific research in this field. Many British Sanskrit scholars were employees of the colonial administration in India, which undoubtedly could not but be reflected in the direction and nature of their research. In 19th-century Indology, particularly British Indology, one frequently meets ideas of the superiority of European civilisation. Scornful opinions about the peoples of the East and their ancient cultures were outspoken.

In West European Indology, at the beginning of the 19th century, two basic trends, connected with the development of Sanskrit studies, can be traced—the colonial and the "romantic". Russia did not stand aside from the general development of scientific thought, but in her own science, the trend towards a "romantic" approach to India, coupled with a high appreciation of the achievements of ancient Indian culture, undoubtedly reigned.

At the very beginning of the 19th century several new universities were founded in Russia, new regulations, providing for the study of history, were drawn up for the Academy of Sciences. Encouragement was also given to the development of Oriental studies. In 1804 provision was made for the establishment of departments of Oriental languages in the universities of Moscow, Kazan and Kharkov. The first rector of Kharkov University, I. Rizhsky, attached great importance to Oriental languages and literatures. In his speeches and public addresses he paid special attention to Sanskrit.

Concern for the development of Oriental studies was dictated partly by the practical requirements of the Russian state, which was establishing closer relations with Eastern states, mainly those of the Middle East. Cultural relations with Europe also had a certain importance.

From the time of Academician Pallas's famous dictionary a scientific tradition of comparative study of the languages of the world had existed in Russia. For the Russian state, populated by different peoples, the study and comparison of languages was particularly important. The famous 19th-century Sanskrit scholar Rudolph Roth wrote that no other country had shown such concern in this respect as Russia.

Interest in Sanskrit in Russia at the beginning of the 19th century was quite natural. Information about Sanskrit, both in translations from German and in the original, began to appear in Russian magazines in 1806-1807. In 1809, in the German town of Wittenberg, a small book by Professor of Oriental Languages, Honorary Member of the Scientific Society of Moscow University Konrad Gottlob Anton *On the Russian Language and Its Common Origin with Sanskrit* was published. At the very same time, in Russia, a small comparative dictionary of the Sanskrit and Russian languages was compiled. We know the name of its compiler—Akhverdov. It was not published but the well-known St Petersburg scholar F. Adelung based his brochure *On the Similarity of Sanskrit to Russian*, published in 1811, on it. It appeared in Russian and French and was later translated into English, and aroused wide response in the Russian press. There was still no one in Russia who knew Sanskrit and information about it was usually obtained second-hand and was not always trustworthy. However, the early appearance of an interest in the language of ancient India, and its direction—the closeness of Sanskrit with Russian—were significant.

In 1810 a draft plan for the establishment in Russia of an Asiatic Academy as a centre for scientific Oriental studies, drawn up by Count Sergei Uvarov, was published. The importance for Russia of this scientific field was noted in the plan and a vast programme of activities for the future Academy was proposed. This plan continued, as it were, the plans of the 18th-century scholars G.J. Kehr and M. Lomonosov for the systematic Oriental studies in Russia. It is interesting that primary attention in Uvarov's plan is given to Sanskrit studies and specific tasks are noted—the publication in Russia of a Sanskrit dictionary, and a translation of the *Vedas* and the *Mahabharata*. For Russia of that time the broad perspectives outlined by the author of the plan were, naturally, utopian, but, to a certain extent, they anticipated the subsequent development of Russian Oriental studies. Uvarov's plan aroused lively interest in Western Europe, and it also had practical significance for the development of Oriental studies in Russia. The Asiatic Museum, set up as early as 1818, was a special institute for Oriental studies attached to the Academy of Sciences. Later it became the basis of the present-day Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It should be noted that the Asiatic Museum was one of the oldest establishments for Oriental studies in Europe. For comparison we would point out that the Asiatic Society in Paris (Societé Asiatique) was founded in 1822, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1829, and the German Oriental Studies Society (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft) in the 1840s. In 1818 Oriental languages began to be taught in the Pedagogical Institute, soon transformed into St Petersburg University. Uvarov delivered a long speech at the opening of the Oriental languages courses. At the time he was the curator of the St Petersburg educational district and President of the Academy of Sciences.* He spoke of the importance of studying the East, the "cradle of world culture", and stressed that for an understanding of culture it was first of all necessary to turn to its sources. In his opinion Asia was the source of "all religions, all sciences, all philosophy; Asia alone preserved the wonderful gift of producing all the great moral phenomena...".

India was regarded as the most important of Asian countries. The opinion was voiced that it was in India that the sources of Greek philosophy and Babylonian astronomy should be sought. "Sanskrit," Uvarov stated, "is, without doubt, the most important sphere of all," it "surpasses all known languages of the world". "The literature of India," he said, "is the first, the most important and the most extensive of all Oriental literatures." In a survey of the most significant relics of Indian literature, such as the *Vedas*, the *Manu Smriti* (Laws of Manu), the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, he expressed deepest admiration for the poetry of the Indians, which bears "the imprint of elegant simplicity and at the same time complete maturity of mind and spirit". He considered the Indians to be "the most educated nation in Asia", and that acquaintance with Sanskrit literature must have a beneficial effect on Russian literature. "From contact with this clear spring," he noted, "the new Russian literature may be renewed." In the study of the East he primarily saw a purely scientific, cultural and educational task. None the less, he referred also to the political expediency of Oriental studies in Russia. "From the political point of view one glance at the map of Russia clearly demonstrates how important and even essential this knowledge is for us."

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* A man of reactionary convictions, S. Uvarov subsequently became one of the official ideologists of tsar Nicholas I autocratic regime. However, one should mention certain positive aspects of his activity on the post of Minister of Education and as president of the Academy of Sciences, when he, in particular, patronised historical and Oriental studies.

Although in his speech Uvarov spoke of the importance of studying Sanskrit and India, scientific Indology did not yet exist in Russia in the first quarter of the 19th century, and Indian languages were not taught. The research activity of the Asiatic Museum was restricted basically to countries of the Moslem world.

In addition to the closeness of Sanskrit and the Slavonic languages, there was yet another thread connecting Russia and India and that was Buddhism. A number of Eastern nations, living on the territory of the Russian Empire, or in its borderlands, professed Buddhism. Specific information on Buddhism could be obtained from the Kalmyks, the Buryats and also from the Mongols. To study the life of these peoples a knowledge of the Buddhist religion, its sacred writings, and in particular literature in Sanskrit, was essential. One of the first specialists in Buddhism in Russia was Academician Jakob Schmidt (1779-1847), a well-known scholar in Mongol and Tibetan studies. His research work obliged him to acquire some knowledge of Sanskrit.

Great credit in comparative linguistics goes to Friedrich Adelung (1768-1843), Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, head of the Educational Section for Oriental Languages in the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1820 he published the book *A Survey of All Languages and Dialects*, in the preface to which the author said that he would shortly devote a special work to literature in Sanskrit. He did in fact publish such a work in 1830, written in German. It was called *Review of Literature in the Sanskrit Language* and included sections on the Sanskrit language, its origins, antiquity and relationship with other languages. He described about 350 works and referred to 170 Indian authors. The book represents a carefully compiled systematic catalogue of printed works in Sanskrit, and was the first bibliographical description of Sanskrit literature, embracing practically all that was known to European Sanskrit studies in the first third of the 19th century. It was soon translated into English and published in Oxford in 1832. The second edition appeared in 1837 under the title *Sanskrit Library. Literature of the Sanskrit Language*. Over many decades it remained a reference book for Sanskrit scholars.

Despite his great service to Sanskrit studies, Adelung himself was not a specialist in the field of the Sanskrit language. It was thought essential in the Academy of Sciences to invite a Sanskrit scholar from abroad. As early as the beginning of the 18th century it was the accepted practice to invite well-known scientists from Western Europe, mainly Germany, to come and work in Russia.

A number of scientists of German origin invited to Russia spent their whole life there and did a great deal for their second motherland. One of these was Academician Christian Fraehn (1782-1851), the first director of the Asiatic Museum. It was on his recommendation that in 1827 the gifted young Orientalist, Bernhard (Boris) Dorn (1805-1881), was invited to teach at Kharkov University. By the time of his arrival in Kharkov, Dorn had defended his doctoral thesis on the Ethiopian Psalter, translated the *Gulistan* of Saadi from Persian, and contemplated a series of translations for the Oriental Translation Committee (forerunner of the famous series "Sacred Books of the East"). In Kharkov he became Professor of Oriental Literature, and from 1829 to 1835 lectured and directed courses in Hebrew, Ethiopic, Arabic and Persian as well as Sanskrit. This was the first experience of the teaching of Sanskrit in Russia. It is interesting to note that Dorn lectured in Latin. Like many prominent Orientalists of his day he possessed an unusually wide erudition and range of interests. In 1829 the first volume of the *History of the Afghans*—a chronicle, compiled in India in the 17th century, came out in London. On the title-page was written: "Translated by professor of Oriental literature in the Imperial Russian University of Kharkov, B. Dorn". The second volume was published in 1836.

In 1833, in Kharkov, Dorn published in Latin the first independent Russian research into Sanskrit: *On the Kinship of the Slavonic and Sanskrit Languages*. Lectures given by him in Kharkov in 1832 formed the basis of the monograph. The book threw light on two important scientific problems. One was the problem of the kinship of the languages in the Indo-European family, that is the problem of comparative linguistics which at the time was occupying all Sanskrit scholars and linguists of Western Europe. The other was the problem of the origins of the Slavs, which was of deep interest to the scientific community of the Slav countries. In 1816 the Polish scientist Valentin Mayevsky wrote the work *On the Slavs and Their Brothers* which also posed the problem of the connection between the Slavs and the ancient Indians. It should be mentioned that at that time Poland formed part of the Russian Empire and Polish Oriental studies were connected with the Russian school. Several Polish Orientalists taught in Russian universities; in Russia, particularly in the Ukraine, Polish works were translated. Thus, at the beginning of the 19th century, the prominent writer and professor of Kharkov University Pyotr Gulak-Artemovsky translated from the Polish a work on cosmology and on the calendar according to the sacred Indian texts. The problem of Slav origins occupied the scholars of various Slavonic states. In 1823 the Croat Mikhanovich published a work entitled *On Words in Sanskrit and Slavonic Close in Meaning and Sound*. In 1826 Anton Jungmann compared Sanskrit with the Czech language (his article was published in Russian). The Czech scholar in Slavonic languages and literature Pavel Shafarik,the Russian historians Nikolai Karamzin and Nikolai Polevoi were also interested in the origins of the Slavs, seeking their original homeland in Asia. (Shafarik, for example, wrote that the Slavs originated in India.)

Thus Dorn's book *On the Kinship of the Slavonic and Sanskrit Languages* was in the mainstream of the scientific interests of Russian scholars. Dorn's undoubted merit was the strictness of scientific method. He showed that words may coincide in sound and be close in meaning but none the less were not related. He paid particular attention to the comparison of the grammatical structure of languages and analysed in detail the declensions in Sanskrit and the Slavonic languages. He came to the conclusion that there had once existed a language which was the basis of Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages including the Slavonic languages. In this way Dorn, as distinct from many prominent Western scholars of his day, did not regard Sanskrit as identical with a proto-Indo-European language. He based his comparisons on material from several Slavonic languages, specifically Russian, old Slavonic, Polish and Czech. He knew no Slavonic languages before his arrival in Russia, but he quickly mastered them, thanks to his unusual industriousness and linguistic ability. He was enchanted by the Slavonic languages and wrote that for their richness they could be likened to Sanskrit. Dorn compared the Slavonic languages and Sanskrit to "two branchy trunks of one mighty tree".

Linguists working mainly in Germany usually analysed the connections between Sanskrit and languages of the Germanic group, and also the classical languages–Latin and ancient Greek. Dorn did an important service for European science when he introduced Slavonic material into comparative linguistic research. His book on this question came out earlier than F. Bopp's. In the previous century it had already been remarked that the honour of discovering the genetic links between Sanskrit and the Slavonic languages belonged not to Bopp but to Dorn, although, undoubtedly, the latter's research was based on the general scientific methodology developed by Rasmus Rask, Franz Bopp and other West European scholars.

In 1838 Dorn moved from Kharkov to St Petersburg where, until 1842, he taught Sanskrit and the geography of the East in the Asiatic Department. He was awarded the title of Academician and subsequently succeeded Christian Fraehn as Director of the Asiatic Museum. Dorn, by all his scientific activity, strove to assist in "explaining the relations of Russia to the East". In St Petersburg he gradually departed from Sanskrit studies and concentrated on the research of Moslem cultures. Of his later works significant for Indology is his study of the inscriptions in the Indian temple in Baku, which has already been referred to.

In the early 1830s the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg began to attach great importance to the development of Oriental studies. A Department of Oriental Literature and Antiquities was opened there in 1830 and given the task of preparing a Sanskrit specialist for the Academy. The choice fell on a student of Dorpat (now Tartu) University–Robert Lenz (1808-1836). He was the younger brother of Academician Emil Lenz, well-known Russian physicist who, in particular, had discovered the important phenomenon in physics known as Lenz's Law. At the request of C. Fraehn, supported by the President of the Academy of Sciences and future Minister of Public Education, S. Uvarov, Robert Lenz was sent to Berlin to study Sanskrit under the outstanding German Sanskrit scholar Professor F. Bopp. The fruit of his work with Bopp was his publication of Kalidasa's *Urvashi* in 1833. The text was prepared in the best traditions of classical studies and supplied with a Latin translation and commentaries. Lenz's translation had a major influence on subsequent translations of Indian drama. F. Bopp, in a letter to Fraehn, valued Lenz's success in the study of Sanskrit and comparative grammar very highly, saying that the young scholar, "thanks to his quick and well-founded achievements in these subjects was really outstanding". The proof of this "was his edition of *Urvashi* by Kalidasa, the *second* Indian drama to appear in

Europe, and the first to be accompanied by such first-class material for assisting its understanding, thanks to which access to this splendid creation by the great Indian poet has been opened for the less experienced". Bopp thought that Lenz's work deserved the support of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Another important publication by Robert Lenz was his catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences, published in 1833, and on the basis of which he wrote and maintained his thesis. On the advice of Franz Bopp and with the support of Christian Fraehn, Lenz undertook a journey to London, Oxford and Paris. His accounts, published in the *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya* (Journal of the Ministry of Public Education), and manuscript material preserved in the archives of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, bear witness to his intensive and fruitful work.

While still in St Petersburg he had been given the task of finding and studying historical texts on Buddhism. This desire was obviously aroused by Russia's need for a more well-founded knowledge of Buddhism than it was possible to get from Mongol and Tibetan sources. There were, at this time, no Western textbooks on the history of Buddhism. The first systematic study on the history and teaching of Buddhism was prepared several years after Lenz's death by his friend, the eminent French Indologist Eugene Burnouf. Lenz himself did not find the necessary material in the manuscript collections in the libraries of the East India Company, the British Museum and the Royal Asiatic Society and he was obliged to change his plans. Continuing work on the *Urvashi* manuscripts, he published in 1834, in a separate issue, an appendix to the published edition containing a critical material. The study of Indian versification and poetics, closely bound up with the task of publishing Sanskrit dramatic works, became the most important trend in his work. After basic study of the work of the well-known British Indologist Henry Thomas Colebrooke, and other important European works, Lenz went on to an independent analysis of Sanskrit treatises on the theory of poetry and the theory of music (the *Sangitaratnakara* By Sharngadeva). His attention was particularly attracted to essays on Sanskrit and Prakrit metrics: the *Chandahshastra* by Pingala with commentaries by Ravikara and Vishvanatha, the *Vrittiratnakara* by Kedara and others. He worked on a critical edition of the *Prakritapingala* and planned a work on the theory .of Indian versification.

In Oxford the young scholar made the acquaintance of the outstanding British Sanskrit scholar Horace Wilson and was given the opportunity to work in his library. His interests were by no means limited to Sanskrit and all the time he had free from the study of Sanskrit he devoted to literary Hindi and spoken Hindustani. Judging from Lenz's notebooks, he studied all the European grammars of Hindi, and his manuscripts contain independent comparisons of Sanskrit and modern Indian languages. He studied the Bengali, Prakrit and Pali languages, the *Upanishads*, the *Avesta* and Tibetan literature. He spent a great deal of time studying the medieval poem *Prithviraja Raso* in Hindi. This is an Indian text with a historical content. He discovered, in the Oxford University Library, the manuscript of the *Lalitavistara*, one of the most important classics of Buddhist literature. Simultaneously with the *Prithviraja Raso*, Lenz was preparing a critical work on the six manuscripts of Bhatta-Narayana's Sanskrit drama *Venisamhara*. He read an enormous amount of Indological works during the eighteen months of his stay in England and his notes testify to the breadth of his interests and exceptionally intensive work. On his return to St Petersburg in 1835 Lenz became a junior research scholar at the Academy of Sciences on the recommendation of Academicians Fraehn and Schmidt. He was a major specialist in Hindi as well as Sanskrit. He had brought with him from abroad a huge amount of scientific material. When in Europe, he compiled a list of Indological literature, which was then bought together with Devanagari type. At the beginning of 1836 he began to lecture on Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. He published a paper on the *Lalitavistara* and wrote a review of the *Shabdakalpadruma* dictionary compiled by the prominent Indian scholar Radhakanta Deb. His further plans were extensive and great hopes were placed on him by the Academy of Sciences. However, the young scholar's strength had been undermined by intensive work, and his plans were not destined to be fulfilled. In the same year– 1836, R. Lenz died at the age of 28.

In the first third of the 19th century, thanks to the works of R. Lenz, B. Dorn and F. Adelung, an independent branch of science began to develop in Russia–the science of Sanskrit studies. But there was as yet no national school of Indology, no tradition of systematic teaching and scientific research. Only the first steps had been taken.

The beginning of systematic teaching of Sanskrit in Russia is connected with the name of Professor Pavel Yakovlevich Petrov (1814-1875), a one-time pupil of R. Lenz. Petrov began his studies in the field of Oriental languages in Moscow University. He studied Arabic and Persian and subsequently taught these languages at Moscow University. The famous literary critic, thinker and democrat Vissarion Belinsky was a fellow student of Petrov's in Moscow University and they were close friends in their student days. Their correspondence has been preserved, and in letters to relatives and friends Belinsky tells of his comrade. In one of his letters in 1829 Belinsky wrote: "I have made friends with P. Petrov. This is a friendship of which I can justifiably boast... What a man! What erudition!" Belinsky says that his friend has not only mastered modern languages–French, German, English and Italian, and the classical ones–Latin and Greek, but also Oriental languages– Arabic and Persian, and writes beautiful verse. According to him Petrov is "tireless in the study of languages... He has a surprising thirst for knowledge of languages: he also wants to study Sanskrit and Turkish. He is particularly fond of Oriental languages." It is interesting that at this time Petrov was only 15, but he was already a second-year university student.

Belinsky, Petrov and other students formed a circle of young people attracted by poetry and progressive ideas. Petrov's first translations from Milton's *Paradise Lost* appeared in magazines at the beginning of the 1830s. He completed university studies in 1832 and was conferred the degree of Master of Arts (Philology), and in order to continue his education set out for the capital. In 1834, on the application of Christian Fraehn, the Minister of Public Education S. Uvarov seconded Petrov to St Petersburg University. However, as a preliminary the young scholar was examined in the Arabic and Persian languages, as well as in Sanskrit (by J. Schmidt). Petrov continued to study Arabic and Persian in St Petersburg University, and also studied Turkish and Chinese (the latter under the remarkable expert on China Iakinf Bichurin). He wrote:

"It does not matter where I study, so long as I study—that is my aim." Devoting all his time to the study of Oriental languages he "was carried away by a passion of all young people and especially Russians, a passion to grasp everything, his strength not commensurate with the burden borne". In his urge to study all the basic Oriental languages one can feel the enormous enthusiasm of the young scholar.

Petrov's selfless attitude towards science is most clearly reflected in his correspondence with Belinsky, to whom he wrote: "Yes, brother, a man may be happy, having rejected the vain, worldly blessings, being satisfied with the minimum of physical needs, and trying with an insatiable thirst to embrace the world of the spirit. Deep is this ocean, but to sink into it is divine, worthy of man. Even the dry study of languages brings divine satisfaction when you look upon it not as on a mechanical object, but as on the living cognition of the human word in all its forms." Sanskrit became Petrov's main passion during his studies in St Petersburg. Immediately on arrival in St Petersburg he received an advantageous proposal to serve in Constantinople, but rejected it. In one of his letters he writes about the cause of his refusal: "Money doesn't delude me... I am devoting myself to Sanskrit." He had to study Sanskrit on his own but Adelung and Fraehn helped with literature and advice. A German scholar from Göttingen, Dr Friedrich (Fyodor) Bollensen, helped him for some time in his Sanskrit studies. (Petrov, in his turn, taught Bollensen Persian.) Studies began with the study of grammar, then came the reading of texts, and finally, work on manuscripts. Petrov impatiently awaited Lenz's return from abroad. In 1836 they began their work on Sanskrit. "A wonderful language!" wrote Petrov. "I am surprised by its structure and extensive literature, it is both easy and difficult to study." The Prakrits seemed to him to be charming and poetical, Sanskrit—a language close to his own and "to learn it was very easy for a Russian". In 1835, with the help of Belinsky, Petrov printed an extract from the *Story of Nala*, the first direct translation from Sanskrit into Russian. In 1836 he drew up a supplement to Lenz's catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts; in 1837 he published a review of an edition of the *Upanishads*, and also gave a description of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts belonging to Moscow University.

A sort of test for Petrov as a Sanskrit scholar was the translation of the episode the "Abduction of Sita", made from manuscripts and accompanied by a glossary and a detailed grammatical analysis. After Fraehn and a number of other scholars had approved this work Petrov was sent to Berlin to study under Franz Bopp. There were also plans for study in Bonn under the well-known Indologist Christian Lassen, in Paris under Eugene Burnouf, and then in London. Petrov was given the task of studying Sanskrit drama, the history of Kashmir and of publishing a Reader composed of as yet unpublished Sanskrit texts with a glossary from texts not only Brahmanical but also Buddhist. Thus Petrov's work was to some extent a continuation of that begun by Robert Lenz. F. Bopp estimated the Russian scholar's ability very highly, and he wrote to Fraehn: "This talented young scholar, possessor of fundamental knowledge, without a doubt will be the honour and fame of Indian philology and a worthy successor to my friend and former pupil, R. Lenz, carried off, unfortunately, so prematurely." Whilst abroad Petrov studied not only Sanskrit texts such as the *Padmapurana* and the *Rajatarangini* by Kalhana, but also the Avestan language (Zend) and contemporary Bengali. However, on his return to Russia in 1840 this talented and erudite scholar was without work, lived in dire poverty, "God knows on what and how", earning a little from private lessons and magazine articles. At that time he published, in Russian magazines, translations of episodes from the *Mahabharata* on Savitri, on the abduction of Draupadi, etc. His article on the Pali language and Buddhist literature of the peoples of South-East Asia in Pali also deserves mention.

In 1841 Petrov was invited to teach Sanskrit in Kazan University, one of the oldest and largest universities in Russia. The remarkable Russian mathematician Nikolai Lobachevsky was the rector of the University at that time. Oriental studies at the University were destined to expand. During Lobachevsky's term as rector Kazan became a major centre of Russian Oriental studies. It was the first university to establish direct scholarly links with India. In 1827 the University council chose as their correspondent Muhammad ibn Gafran ulla from Peshawar. The Indian scholar sent several Sanskrit and Arabic manuscripts to Kazan. Thanks to its links with the Asiatic Society of Bengal the University received publications from Calcutta (including an edition of the *Mahabharata*). In 1842 at the request of Lobachevsky and Professor Osip Kovalevsky of Kazan, an outstanding scholar of Mongolian studies and expert on Buddhism, a special school of Sanskrit studies was established in the University and was held by Petrov. This was the first Sanskrit Department in Russia.

When he arrived in Kazan he discovered some Sanskrit manuscripts in the University library, together with a splendid collection of books on Indology. The foundation for the teaching of Sanskrit had already been laid. Initially it was planned to teach Sanskrit in the *gymnasium* (secondary school) as well as in the University, and Petrov drew up and published a programme of studies. The University course was planned to last three years, based on the appropriate textbooks by Bopp and Lassen. Students were taught Sanskrit literature as well as the Sanskrit language, and the programme offered a wide range of subjects. The course began with a study of the origins of Indian languages and writings, phonetics, the alphabet and calligraphy. Grammar was studied not in theoretical form but mainly on the basis of analysing texts. Thus language teaching had a practical character which was, on the whole, characteristic of Kazan Oriental studies. In addition to Sanskrit it was proposed to acquaint the students with Pali, and Hindustani, Bengali and other living languages of India. Petrov drew the special attention of his students to the close connection between the ancient and modern languages of India, saying that "without the help of Sanskrit it was impossible to know the modern languages, unless the student wished to confine himself merely to the spoken language", and "we shall not speak of the importance of the study of Indian dialects for Sanskrit, because it is self-evident; they mutually enrich one another". Thus, just like the outstanding Russian Indologist I. Minayev later, he did not contrast the ancient and modern languages, and disregard of contemporary Indian dialects was alien to him. Parallel with language study students were given information on the secular and religious literature of India, in particular on historical, medical, philosophical texts. The reading of Sanskrit texts took for granted an acquaintance with Indian mythology. In accordance with the University curriculum the study of Sanskrit was a required subject for students of the Mongol-Tatar and Chinese departments. Student Orientalists of other specialities also attended lectures on Sanskrit, like the first Buryat scholar Dorzhi Banzarov who studied under Petrov.

In the first years in Kazan, Petrov enthusiastically engaged in scholarly work. His works came out every year: excerpts from his translation of the *Gitagovinda* by Jayadeva, and the Sanskrit text of the poem *Ghatakarparam*, a review of Hindu literature and a *Sanskrit Anthology*. The *Anthology* (1846) included texts from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, the *Hitopadesha* and the *Katha-sarit-sagara*, and also from the *Brahmandapurana*, the *Rajatarangini* and others. The anthology was very difficult to print. Devanagari type had to be ordered from Berlin, and Petrov himself set up the text. A planned second issue with notes and a glossary never came out. Over the years one begins to meet in his letters complaints about "scholarly loneliness" and his works appeared in print ever more rarely. When it was decided to open a department of the Sanskrit language in Moscow University in 1852 Petrov left Kazan. He became a professor of the University and taught Sanskrit as well as Arabic and Persian there practically up to his death.

Petrov treated Oriental languages, both ancient and modern, as living languages. He not only translated verse by Hafiz but himself wrote verse in Persian imitating Hafiz. One of his contemporaries recalled that he "wrote and spoke Sanskrit like a living language and translated Byron into it, trying to more or less trace, and sometimes to create also, metres which would fit the translation of the modern poet into the language of our most distant ancestors". He tried to imitate the manner and subtleties in the writings of Oriental authors he studied. His system of language teaching was oriented to the practical learning of grammar, studied directly from the texts. His library, which he bequeathed to Moscow University, bears witness to his wide learning. It contained about two thousand books in almost a hundred languages, a considerable number of them containing his notes. The well-known Russian Sanskrit scholars and linguists Filipp Fortunatov, Vsevolod Miller, Fyodor Korsch and others studied ancient Indian languages under Petrov.

Unfortunately Pavel Petrov left no successor. In the opinion of the well-known specialist on Iranian studies, Academician Karl Zaleman, this many-sided linguist, teacher and thoughtful researcher had no "lasting influence on the success of science... There remain only a few small articles, having a chance character and as far as science is concerned leaving almost no trace at all." Over about a quarter of a century of scholarly work in Moscow he published but a few works: an article on material he had collected whilst still young at the behest of Christian Fraehn. "A list of certain Russian words, related or similar to Oriental ones", a survey of the alphabets of Oriental languages, and excerpts from the translation of the Kashmiri chronicle of Kalhana the *Rajatarangini*. In the last years of his life he published several articles containing a survey of Bengali, Hindustani and Marathi. In these articles he gave information about the grammar of modern Indian languages, their correlation with Sanskrit, presented an ouline of literature in these languages as well as translations of fragments and narrations from separate works. Thus from Urdu prose he translated extracts from Mir Amman's *Bagh-o-Bahar*, from Hindi—fragments of *Prem Sagar*. He directed attention to the "modern course of education in British settlements" and expressed the opinion that "ancient Hindu science in amalgamation with European science promises abundant crops for the densely populated Hindustan". There is a great deal that is interesting in Petrov's scholarly legacy, nevertheless Zaleman's severe judgement is fair. Here we see the tragedy of a scholar in the conditions of tsarist Russia. His fellow student, Vasily Grigoryev, describing the old Russian Oriental studies as a whole, wrote that "essential are a certain degree of saturation of society with science, a certain degree of development in it of scientific needs..." He considered that in the Russia of those days science was not a "vital necessity for society, but a luxury, the poor fruit of government attentions". Russia's backwardness in social and political development in the mid-19th century caused a similar backwardness in the field of "pure sciences". The dark decades of Nicholas I's reign (1825-1855) had a ruinous effect. The talented mid-19th century Russian scholar P. Petrov, like many other Russian Orientalists, felt a "scholarly loneliness" and, actually, gave up writing.

Another notable pioneer of Russian Sanskrit studies, Kaetan Kossovich (1814-1883), shared the same fate. It was Grigoryev too who noted that "in the history of Russian science Kossovich was a remarkable ... a rare example of a noble worker, who acquired his knowledge in the most unfavourable conditions". The son of a Byelorussian priest, Kossovich, "while still a boy, enduring hunger and cold in an attic, conceived a passion for the study of Latin", and was so successful in it that he was sent from the Vitebsk *gymnasium*, where he was studying, to Moscow University, where he associated with such prominent literary figures and progressive thinkers as Vissarion Belinsky and Nikolai Stankevich. After he graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in 1836 the young scholar had to make ends meet by occasional earnings until he was appointed teacher of classical Greek in the secondary school in Tver (now Kalinin). Kossovich was an enthusiast and expert in classical languages and literature. Together with his brother he compiled a Greek-Russian dictionary, translated a Greek grammar, compiled a Reader and small Greek-Russian and Russian-Greek dictionaries.

From 1843 he taught classical Greek in a Moscow secondary school. At this time he began independent study of Sanskrit. His first translations from Sanskrit began to appear as early as 1844: an excerpt from the *Mahabharata* on Sunda and Upasunda, *The Story of Vidyadhara* by Jimutavahana, an excerpt from the *Bhagavatapurana* (the Legend of Dhruva) and others. He translated the *Bhagavatapurana* from Burnouf's edition, in some places giving a different interpretation of the text from that in the French. He noted that Russian was capable of providing a much better translation of the structure of the Sanskrit text than was French. He also published a translation of the first act of Shudraka's famous drama *Mricchakatika* which in the Russian translation was given the name of the heroine of the play *Vasantasena*. His most important publication in the field of Sanskrit studies was the translation of the drama by Krishna Mishra *Prabodhacandrodaya*, translated from the Brockhaus edition of 1845. This was the first work of Sanskrit literature to be "wholly transplanted on Russian soil". It was published in Russia in 1847, immediately after it had become known in Europe. Krishna Mishra's drama is devoted to religious and philosophical problems and discloses the opinions of Digambaras, Kapalikas and Carvakas, Buddhists and representatives of other Indian religious and philosophical trends. The Russian translator considered its philosophical content to be not only interesting but also topical for Russian society of his day, in which a keen ideological struggle was going on. A major problem facing Kossovich was the problem of the language and style of his translation. The translation was made in the best traditions of Russian dramatic literature faithfully rendering the original. His contemporaries found it elegant. Sanskrit commentaries were included to explain complicated places in the text of the play, and in addition Kossovich gave explanations of the philosophical terminology of Sanskrit. In order to be able to print Sanskrit words Devanagari type was cast in the university press on Kossovich's order. Unfortunately, this publication remained practically unnoticed in Russian literature. Appraising the publication of Krishna Mishra's drama, the well-known writer and scholar P. Pletnyov, Rector of St Petersburg University, wrote to the translator: "This is an exploit surpassing the understanding of Russian critics." He foretold that the time would come when the name of Kossovich would be acknowledged with gratitude and esteem as the founder of the Russian school of Sanskrit philological studies.

From 1850 Kossovich worked in St Petersburg as editor of scientific works of the Public Library. He was also in charge of the library's Oriental books and manuscripts and catalogued them. In order to identify Indian manuscripts in the library collection he went abroad in 1851 and had meetings with leading Indologists of Western Europe. A number of his linguistic works date from the mid-1850s. He welcomed the work of Alexander Hilferding devoted to a comparison of the vocabulary of Sanskrit and Russian. In 1854, at the suggestion of the Academy of Sciences, Kossovich began to print a Sanskrit-Russian dictionary, hoping in this way to open "access to the study of one of the most ancient and most beautiful languages in the world" to his fellow scholars. His dictionary was constructed on the basis of the Russian alphabet, but was not finished; up to 1856 only three issues had been published.

An Oriental Languages Faculty was opened in St Petersburg University in 1855, and in 1858 the teaching of Sanskrit in St Petersburg was entrusted to Kossovich. He published several works as teaching aids, such as a story from the *Mahabharata*– "Legend of the Hunter and the Pair of Doves", with a Latin translation and a glossary. In 1859, in his inaugural lecture on the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit literature at the opening of a Sanskrit-Persian section in the Oriental Languages Faculty, he spoke as a devotee of Sanskrit research in Russia. He asserted that "Sanskrit was a model of a language with the most complete forms and a most perfect structure, a model of perfection of human speech". There was no doubt about the scientific importance of Sanskrit for philologists insofar as Sanskrit was the "foundation of their science". It was precisely Sanskrit that proved the "brotherly unity of tribes and their languages". Kossovich referred to the "organic relationship of Sanskrit and the Slavonic languages". But this did not exhaust the importance of Sanskrit: it was a "sacred language for a third of mankind", it played the same role in Asia as did the classical languages of Greece and Rome in Europe. He gave a survey of Sanskrit literature, pointing out that "Indian drama is more diverse than the dramas of Shakespeare and the Greeks", and Sanskrit "relics of the so-called exact sciences frequently represent results which inquisitive European science reached only very recently". Summing up, he concluded that "Russia needs Sanskrit scholars just as much as she needs mathematicians and historians".

Thus the highest assessment of ancient Indian culture was given and, at the same time, Indology was reduced, in essence, to Sanskrit studies.

In the last period of his research activity Kossovich rarely published his translations and Indological works. He spent most of his time on Iranian studies, and here we can mention the publication of several hymns from the

*Avesta* with a Latin translation and a philological and critical commentary, and also the publication of Persian cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenids.

For a quarter of a century Kossovich taught Sanskrit in St Petersburg University, together with his students he read texts from Adolf-Friedrich Stenzler's Reader, then went on to the *Manu Smriti*, the *Meghaduta* by Kalidasa and the *Gitagovinda*. Language studies were accompanied by a discourse on Indian civilisation, the specifics of Prakrits, the philosophical terminology of Sanskrit texts, etc. In his teaching work, as in his publications, one can feel the absence of a developed Indological school, and lack of the strictness of the critical scientific method. A real school of Indology appeared later. In the history of Indology only a few of Kossovich's pupils deserve mention, but from among them pride of place goes to the outstanding Russian Indologist I. Minayev.

In the 1840s and 1850s attention in Russia was drawn to Sanskrit in connection with some works of the Slavophiles. Slavophilism was one of the currents in social thinking in Russia in the mid-19th century. Slavophiles ardently opposed imitation of Western Europe, upholding the national originality of Russia's development. Great attention to folk songs and customs, to the ancient history of Rus and the Slav peoples, support of the idea of a common Slavonic brotherhood were all connected with the activities of the Slavophiles. As a trend, Slavophilism, with its diverse social content, was in some aspects conservative and close to the ruling circles, and in others liberal and opposed to government policy. In the development of science Slavophilism spurred the awakening of an interest in the ancient sources of Slav culture and the merits of the native tongue. One of the founders and major representatives of Slavophilism, public figure and poet Alexei Khomyakov took an interest in and studied Sanskrit. It was due to his influence that another Slavophile, Alexander Hilferding, a well-known collector of Russian folk songs, began to study Sanskrit. Khomyakov was Kossovich's "friend and teacher". Hilferding, who studied Sanskrit under the guidance of Kossovich, in 1853 published his research *On the Relation of the Slavonic Language to Cognate Languages* and a year later an extensive monograph *On the Relationship of the Slavonic Language to Sanskrit*. The general ideas developed in Hilferding's works amounted to the following: German linguists, engaged in Indo-European studies, underestimated the importance of the Slavonic languages. "The language of the Slavs in all its dialects has preserved roots and words which exist in Sanskrit," he wrote. "In this respect the closeness of the languages is singular... No European language has so many words similar to Sanskrit as ... the Slavonic language." He asserted that it was hardly possible to find one or two dozen Russian words that did not have similar ones in Sanskrit. He stated that the entire Slavonic language consists of intrinsically Indo-European elements and does not have a single feature that is foreign to Sanskrit. Comparing vocabularies, Hilferding came to the conclusion that only Lithuanian and the Slavonic languages were close to Sanskrit and that they formed, it could be said, a family within the framework of the Indo-European community. Slavonic, Sanskrit and Lithuanian have, in his opinion, an immediate, individual kinship going back to prehistoric times. In conclusion the author expresses the following thought: "Slavs may be proud of their language ... they alone preserve the freshness of thought and creativity of spirit that comes from the Indo-European cradle." Khomyakov's book *A Comparison of Russian and Sanskrit Words*, published in 1855, was written in the same spirit. In the author's opinion, "there remained" from the "beautiful epoch" of mankind's childhood, "Indian thought and the Slavonic way of life". The Indians and the Slavs are "brothers, who reveal their brotherhood in complete identity of their verbal forms and the logical harmony of their development from common roots". "To a Russian, Sanskrit words sound familiar, and we are surprised not by the number of familiar words, but by the fact that there are some unfamiliar words in Sanskrit." Khomyakov and Hilferding went so far as to regard Sanskrit and Slavonic not as different languages but as dialects of a single language.

Gross exaggeration and tendentiousness characterised the works of these authors. The strong resemblance in lexicál structure is based on quite superficial comparisons. Incidentally, a number of comparisons, in the opinion of such competent linguists as the Slavonic and Sanskrit scholar Ignaty Yagich, are quite legitimate. Also quite just is the opinion that European science underestimated the historical role of the Slavs and the Slavonic languages. (It is well known, for instance, that in 19th-century German science it was the accepted practice to call Indo-European languages Indo-Germanic.) Khomyakov's and Hilferding's linguistic researches seem obsolete nowadays, and even in the mid-19th century they had a dilettantish nature in general. However, they do preserve a historiographic interest as they clearly show the social atmosphere in which research in the field of comparative linguistics and Sanskrit was being conducted, and they reflect the great interest in ancient Indian culture in Russia.

Amongst the pioneers of Russian Sanskrit studies in the mid-19th century we find enthusiasts, selflessly serving science and overcoming tremendous difficulties in their scholarly work. They were, in the main, scholars who had studied Sanskrit on their own, without going through a sound scientific school. Basically the language of ancient India attracted the attention of Russian researchers both by its richness and its resemblance to Slavonic languages. The interest of the scholars is usually formed by admiration for the cultural achievements of India. They try to acquaint the Russian public with the masterpieces of ancient Indian literature.

A relic of Sanskrit poetry that has become an organic part of Russian literature is Vasily Zhukovsky's translation of *Nala and Damayanti*, published in 1844. It was not a direct translation from Sanskrit but was made from a German translation by Friedrich Rückert. The Russian poet was under the influence of German romanticism and his interest in India and his perception of *Nala* was akin to the attitude of the romantics towards Indian poetry. Zhukovsky, quoting August-Wilhelm Schlegel, wrote of the "virginal, prototypal beauty" of the story, "the loftiness of tender feelings and thoughts". Zhukovsky's *Nala and Damayanti* is one of the remarkable and most popular works of Russian poetry of the first half of the 19th century. Later on the composer Anton Arensky set it to music and the opera *Nala and Damayanti* appeared on the Russian stage. Zhukovsky chose Rückert's translation as being "the most poetic" although yielding place in scholarly accuracy to Franz Bopp's translation. In his *Indian Tale* he did not concern himself with faithfulness to the original, imitating Rückert rather than providing a literal translation. His *Nala and Damayanti* may be defined as a work of Russian poetry based on the motif from a Sanskrit legend, and not merely a translation of a fragment from the *Mahabharata*.

Several years later a direct translation of the *Nala* from the original Sanskrit into Russian appeared. Claiming philological accuracy, I. Kossovich, brother of the famous Sanskrit scholar, who lived in what was at that time a provincial town Vladimir, on the river Klyazma, tried to re-create the work, which had caught the fancy of the Russian reader.

The image of India, in the notes of his travels, was given a romantic hue by A. D. Saltykov. His *Letters about India*, printed in Russian and French, with an album of sketches by the author appended, was well known in Europe. Karl Marx, in one of his articles, quoted Saltykov's opinion of the talented Indian people.

Ancient Indian history was taught in lecture courses at Russian universities and expounded in textbooks. The celebrated professor of Moscow University, Timofei Granovsky, whose lectures were a great event in Russian science and public life in the 1840s and 1850s, devoted considerable attention to ancient India. He acquainted his audiences with the results of the work of the leading European Sanskrit scholars such as Christian Lassen and Eugene Burnouf. Professor Mikhail Lunin, who began his exposition of ancient history in his university course with India, used to be called the "Granovsky of Kharkov". He showed great interest in ancient India, and in 1837 published a special work *A Glance at the Life of the Hindustani People* and a few years later allotted an important place to India in his course on the historiography of the ancient East. A description of the religion, philosophy, and public life of ancient India was contained in the works of Professor A. Roslavsky-Petrovsky of Kharkov *A Survey of the History of the Ancient World* and other general works. Scholars working on comparative ethnology and law very often turned to Indian material, giving a quite detailed exposition. Non-professional Sanskrit scholars could not, naturally, give a deep independent analysis of texts, but in their works they made use of the latest European literature on Indology and acquainted the Russian public with the scientific achievements. However, the degree of knowledge of Indology possessed by the Russian public cannot be judged only from publications in Russian; original Western literature, especially French and German, was widely available to the reader.

A most interesting feature of Russian historiography is that the countries of the East, including India, were an integral part of the general history course, whereas in 19th-century Europe (and sometimes even today) the countries of the Far East and South Asia were regarded as completely isolated civilisations. Leading representatives of European historiography, for example, the German professor Leopold von Ranke, even found a theoretical basis for excluding India from the general process of world history. The Europocentric, and at times racist, colonialist tenets lying at the base of courses in British universities are well known. These viewpoints were never professed in Russian science. Russian researchers frequently criticised Western historiography for rendering world history by "concentrating almost exclusively on the peoples of Europe, while the great, thousand-year history of other peoples of the world was pushed into the background and in doing so they adduced no organic link of the latter with the destinies of the privileged, so to say, peoples of Europe" (A. Khomyakov). Attention was drawn to the fact that no history could be considered to be a "world" history if it did not include the history of the East

**O. N. Böhtlingk**

and of the Slavs. The absence of Europocentrism is a distinguishing feature of Russian science which, to a certain extent, also ensured the success of Russian Oriental studies.

The most important Sanskrit research in the middle of last century was carried out in the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences. It is connected, primarily, with Otto von Böhtlingk (1815-1904). Böhtlingk was a native of St Petersburg, was educated in the *gymnasium* in Dorpat and then in St Petersburg University. He prepared to become a proficient Orientalist, studying Arabic and Persian with Professors Senkovsky and Sharmua under whom Petrov had also studied. Acquaintance with F. Bollensen, who was a disciple of the German Sanskrit scholar Georg Ewald and lived and worked in Russia, was the spur that started Böhtlingk on the study of the languages of India. At that time there was no one in Russia to teach him Sanskrit, and to continue his studies he left for Germany. From 1835 he studied Sanskrit under the guidance of Franz Bopp in Berlin, August-Wilhelm Schlegel and Christian Lassen in Bonn and in 1838 received the degree of Doctor of Philology in Hessen. Böhtlingk was an Indologist striving above all else to the "study of the language, the most complete and well-founded", seeing in it the "only reliable means of subsequently studying that complicated and distinctive world, the key to the understanding of which was Sanskrit". His first major work was the Bonn edition of Panini's famous Sanskrit Grammar, which appeared in 1839-1840. This edition was a real milestone in science and paved the way for the study of ancient Indian grammatical works. He was the first to give an approximate dating to Panini and accompanied his edition with a scholarly commentary. The critics pointed to Böhtlingk's work as a model. In 1842 he was elected first a corresponding member and then member of the Academy of Sciences. Over just a few years he prepared a splendid edition of one of the oldest versions of Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* with a translation and commentaries, wrote a monograph on the stress in Sanskrit, giving a start to the elaboration of this important linguistic problem, and a work on affixes in Sanskrit on the basis of Indian grammatical tradition. In 1845 an excellent Sanskrit Reader was published in St Petersburg, the first to include texts from the *Rigveda*. The publication in St Petersburg of Vopadeva's grammar (1846) and Hemacandra's dictionary (1847) was a continuation of his work on Indian grammar and lexicology. He started work on an extensive dictionary of Sanskrit. The breadth of his scholarly interests, his erudition and his capacity for work were striking. At the end of the 1840s he had finished a wide-ranging investigation of the Yakut language, which was the first substantial research in this field and which to this day has not lost its scientific importance. This essay of Böhtlingk's was republished in The Hague in 1964. At the end of the 1970s a scientific conference, dedicated to the memory of Otto Böhtlingk, was held in the city of Yakutsk, at which it was pointed out that the beginning of the Yakuts' civil script was the alphabet developed by Böhtlingk. His work *On the Language of the Gypsies in Russia* (based on material of Russian Orientalist V. Grigoryev) appeared in 1852. He also published researches into Russian grammar and phonetics, which contained profound observations and evaluations. Nevertheless his most important work was his dictionary of Sanskrit, the *Great St Petersburg Dictionary*, published in seven huge volumes in 1852-1875. He worked on the dictionary in cooperation with Professor Rudolf Roth, and they were helped by many leading Sanskrit scholars—the Berlin Professor A. Weber, the American William-Dwight Whitney, Hendrik Kern of Leyden, the St Petersburg Academician Anton Schiefner among them. It is no exaggeration to say that the dictionary opened a new scientific era in Sanskrit studies. The task of the dictionary was to collect extensive lexical material, independent of the interpretations of medieval Indian lexicographers and commentators (on the basis of original research of Sanskrit texts). The meanings of words were set out in corresponding entries in historical order. The dictionary, compiled with great care and thoroughness, made extensive use of all known and by then already immense printed and manuscript Sanskrit literature. In spite of the fact that more than a century has gone by, and a huge quantity of texts and a number of new dictionaries have been published during this time, the *St Petersburg Dictionary* remains an unsurpassed publication. One of the historians of linguistics, himself a linguist and Sanskrit scholar Sergei Bulich, wrote of the "revolution brought about in this field by the appearance of this remarkable monument of the human spirit, persevering industriousness and colossal erudition... Only the dictionary of O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth made possible a correct understanding of many Indian relics and uncovered their true content." R. Roth dealt with the Vedic vocabulary, O. Böhtlingk, who did the greater part of the work, described the words of classical Sanskrit. (Berthold Delbrück ascribed nine-tenths of the vocabulary of the dictionary to him.) What Böhtlingk did has not become in the least out of date today, in spite of the numerous new relics which have been discovered and seen print over the past hundred years.

After finishing work on the *Great St Petersburg Dictionary* he undertook, this time on his own, to prepare a new publication, the *Concise St Petersburg*

*Dictionary*, which also appeared in seven large-sized volumes from 1879 to 1889. In the *Concise Dictionary* quotations from Sanskrit texts were omitted, and the lexical material was enlarged by work on newly discovered texts. The St Petersburg dictionaries became an important basis not only for Indology but for comparative linguistics, too, for many decades to come.

Parallel with his work on the dictionary Böhtlingk also completed a number of other important works. In St Petersburg, between 1863 and 1865, three bulky volumes of *Indian Sayings* (the text with a German translation) were published. The second edition of this book contained about eight thousand sayings. Here Böhtlingk demonstrated for the first time ever the richness and variety of Sanskrit gnomic poetry. He published a German translation of Shudraka's drama *Mricchakatika*, translations and editions of the *Brihadaranyaka-* and the *Chandogya-upanishads*, a second edition of Panini's Grammar (with a German translation), radically revised editions of the Sanskrit Reader and *Indian Sayings*, and a new edition and translation of Dandin's poetry. All his publications are distinguished by impeccable accuracy. In textual criticism Böhtlingk was a "stern supporter of classical Sanskrit grammar" as opposed to the "conservatives", who found in the mistakes of the copyists "peculiarities of language". On many points of Sanskrit studies Böhtlingk expressed views different from those which were widespread in his day, in particular he considered that the predominance in ancient India of the tradition of oral transmission should not be exaggerated. In his opinion, all Indian literature after the *Samhitas* displays acquaintance with the written word.

He spent the last years of his life in Germany, but he maintained links both with the Russian Academy of Sciences and individual Russian scholars. His principal works were published in St Petersburg, and the Academy of Sciences provided large sums for the scientific work of its outstanding member. A printing house was specially equipped for publishing his works. Reminiscing on the creation of the *Great St Petersburg Dictionary*, R. Roth wrote that it was specifically the Russian Academy of Sciences which was "the soil on which the tree had grown", without its influence, without its means and without the assistance of Russian scholars the dictionary could not have appeared. The St Petersburg dictionaries are a source of pride for the Academy of Sciences. They are widely known in India too, and in 1923 the USSR Academy of Sciences sent Rabindranath Tagore, at his request, a copy of the *Great St Petersburg Dictionary*. Contemporary Indian scholars make active use of the St Petersburg dictionaries in their lexicographical work. They have prepared an English translation of the dictionary, which is being put out in Delhi.

Among the mid-19th-century Sanskrit scholars one should also mention Friedrich (Fyodor) Bollensen (1809-1896), who, making use of R. Lenz's material, published in 1846 the Sanskrit text of Kalidasa's *Urvashi* with a German translation and commentary. In the 1850s he taught Sanskrit for some time in Kazan, after Petrov had left for Moscow.

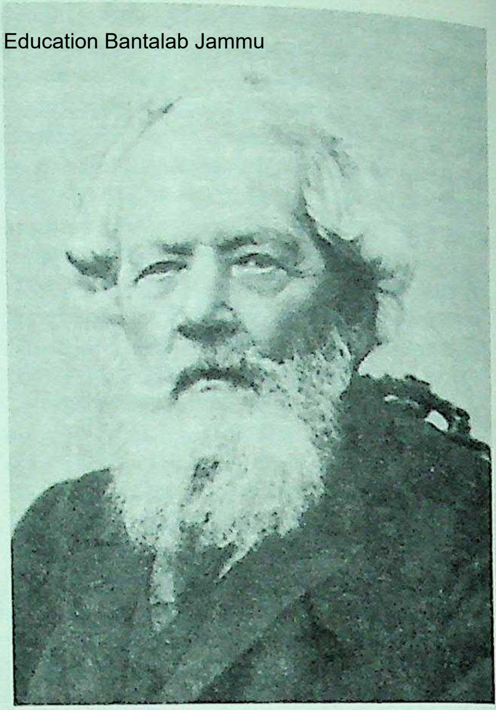
Böhtlingk and Bollensen made an important contribution to European Sanskrit studies and their names are well known to Indology. They maintained close contacts with leading specialists in Europe, particularly in Germany. The Russian Academy of Sciences actively assisted their research work. However, on the whole, their influence on the development of Russian Sanskrit studies was negligible, all the more so since the main direction of their work was the publishing of Sanskrit texts, while their researches were published in German.

A whole series of objective factors formed the basis of the keen interest in India and her cultural heritage in Russia. Since some of Russia's nationalities professed Buddhism this inevitably led to the development of Buddhist studies, but it was impossible to study Buddhism without reference to its Indian sources and religious and philosophical writings in ancient Indian languages. At the beginning of the 19th century J. Schmidt had already started the study of Buddhism.

The research activities of Professor Osip Kovalevsky (1801-1878) are of special interest. Kovalevsky, who was of Polish descent, taught Latin in Vilno (now Vilnius, the capital of the Lithuanian SSR). Later he settled in Kazan, where he studied the Mongol language and culture, Tibet and Buddhism as well as Sanskrit. In the 1830s he published one of the first works on Buddhism to be published in Europe, *Buddhist Cosmology*. A number of his unpublished works were also devoted to Buddhism, among them "Studies in the Field of Buddhist Chronology" and the "History of Buddhism". A distinctive feature of Kovalevsky's research method was his use, in Oriental studies, of the methods of critical analysis of sources, established in Europe in relation to Graeco-Roman literature.

Yet another specialist on Mongolia and Tibet was working in St Petersburg. He was Academician Anton Schiefner (1817-1879), a graduate of St Petersburg University, who had studied Sanskrit in Berlin in 1840-1842. Schiefner studied Indian *Jatakas* and *Avadanas* in the Buddhist tradition of Tibet and Mongolia. He was the author of a number of works which demonstrate his learning in the field of Oriental languages and Buddhism: a *Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongol Dictionary of Buddhist Terminology* (1859), and a German translation of the *History of Buddhism in India* by the Tibetan historian Taranatha (1869). He worked on the latter in close contact with Professor Vasilyev.

Professor Vasily Vasilyev (1818-1900) was an outstanding Buddhist scholar and Sinologist. He studied in Kazan under Kovalevsky and inherited from his teacher an interest in Buddhism and a critical approach to sources. His first work discussed the foundations of Buddhist philosophy, the concept of *shunyata* ("the Emptiness"). Vasilyev's most important work is his book *Buddhism, Its Doctrines, History and Literature*, Part I of which appeared in 1857 and Part III in 1869. He knew Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature, but his basic sources were Chinese and Tibetan texts. His knowledge of the Chinese and Tibetan languages gave this Russian scholar a considerable advantage over his contemporary West European scholars of Buddhism. In addition he had at his disposal a rich collection of Buddhist books which he had brought from Beijing, and which were not available to European scholars. He had lived for a long time in Beijing, working on the staff of the Russian ecclesiastical mission. Traditional learning was joined in Vasilyev with a sober critical view. He urged that source-material should be looked at "with distrust" and "everything be subject to doubt". Analysing knowledge about the primary history of Buddhism, he questioned the trustworthiness of the first Buddhist Councils, and he was faced with other problems which are still being debated in Indology and Buddhology. His monograph on Buddhism contained a history of the *Hinayana* and the *Mahayana*, a survey of the philosophy of Buddhism and the teaching of some Buddhist schools—the *Vaibhashikas*, *Sautrantikas*, *Yogacaras* and *Madhyamikas*, an analysis of the biographies of the important figures in



V. P. Vasilyev

Buddhism from Ashvaghosha to Vasubandhu. This research was translated into German and French and together with E. Burnouf's famous work became an important landmark in mid-19th-century Buddhist studies.

Vasilyev himself considered his *Buddhism* simply as an introduction to other essays already completed in manuscript. Early in the 1840s he translated from the Chinese Hsiouen Tsang's notes about India, and an extensive review of Buddhist literature and exposition of Buddhism were drawn up according to the *Mahavyutpatti*. But these translations and researches were not fated to be published, a number of the manuscripts perished. Vasilyev frequently complained about the indifference of his fellow countrymen towards his work, about the fact that the "isolated work of a scholar is wasted in obscurity".

The outstanding Russian Indologist and specialist on Buddhism, Academician Oldenburg, who studied under Vasilyev, considered that he had no equal in breadth of knowledge in the world of Buddhist studies. In his opinion, European Buddhist studies were several decades behind because the works of this outstanding Russian scholar had not been printed. In his obituary on Vasilyev he wrote: "Whoever has to study the history of science in Russia experiences a terrible feeling: bold beginnings, penetrating thought, even painstaking and persistent labour, all this in abundance; and here one has to note how everything stops short: lengthy series of 'first volumes', grandiose plans, unpublished manuscripts, uncompleted beginnings and unrealised dreams". Vasilyev's fate corresponds to some extent with that of P. Petrov and other prominent Russian scholars of tsarist Russia who did not succeed in realising their scientific plans, which they were quite capable of doing.

The general attitude of Vasilyev to the East is interesting. He considered the aim of science to be knowledge of mankind, and that this was a more important aim than knowledge of the natural environment. The "comprehensive" study of mankind he thought impossible without the study of the East. "The remote East is populated by our brothers, " he wrote. "They have their own history, their own development, their own views." He opposed the narrowness of views of European scholars and strove to take the side of the bearers of Eastern civilisation. This general approach became characteristic of many leading representatives of Russian Oriental studies, both Sinologists, like Academician Vasily Alekseyev, and specialists on Buddhism, like Academician Sergei Oldenburg, who were Vasilyev's students. The lagging behind of the East in his opinion was a temporary phenomenon: "When the world becomes unified... the East will not only be the repository of education, but also its motive force," he wrote.

V. Vasilyev, for many decades dean of the Oriental Faculty of St Petersburg University, did a great deal for the development of Oriental studies in Russia. Being profoundly interested not only in the ancient but also in the modern East, he submitted to the Ministry of Education the issue of studying modern Indian languages several times. I. Minayev was a pupil of Vasilyev's and continuer of his work in the field of Buddhist studies. His main preoccupation was the history of Buddhism in India. As distinct from his teacher, however, he worked basically with Pali and Sanskrit sources. But the whole attitude of the Russian school of Buddhist studies towards the texts of Northern Buddhism forcibly reminds one of Vasilyev's school. Minayev's criticism of sources, his desire to study the history of India as a whole, from antiquity to his own day, the idea of the importance of the East in the future are consonant with Vasilyev's views.

In Russian journalism and social thinking of the 1840s and 1850s attention was drawn to India. Essays on the activities of such Indian Enlighteners as Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore, who had done much "for the progress and happiness of their fellow countrymen", appeared in the press. Information about them was drawn from European literature and occasionally from the Indian press. Quite a number of articles also appeared exposing Britain's colonial policy in India and expressing sympathy for the struggle of the Indians against British domination. Russian society followed with deep attention the great national uprising in India in 1857-1859 which was reported in detail and from various points of view in the Russian press. On the eve of the abolition of serfdom (1861) Russia was experiencing a revolutionary situation. The Indian uprising occupied the minds of Russian revolutionaries and democrats insofar as there appeared certain similarities between Russia and India, common problems connected with the armed struggle of the people for freedom. The well-known Russian revolutionary democrat and publicist Nikolai Dobrolyubov devoted a long article to the Indian uprising. He showed the inevitability of the uprising brought about by Britain's colonial plundering.

The uprising bore witness to the beginning of India's awakening. Dobrolyubov disagreed with the general opinion about the uprising in the British press. He said that it was not a revolt against civilisation, but was rather directed against the British method of applying civilisation to India and proceeded from aspirations that were closer to the enlightened strivings of the age than the British could assume.

Sanskrit studies and comparative linguistics in the mid-19th century, the formation of a Russian school of Buddhist studies, a sympathetic attitude in the progressive circles of Russian society towards the struggle of the Indian people for their national liberation were closely connected with the activities of I. Minayev, the outstanding Russian Sanskrit scholar and expert on Buddhism in the last third of the 19th century. Minayev's cast of mind cannot be properly understood without taking into account the atmosphere in which were formed not only his scientific interests but also his democratic social views and his attitude towards the East, both ancient and modern.

## 2. Ivan Minayev—Founder of Russian Indology

Pride of place in the history of Russian Oriental studies belongs by right to Ivan Minayev, who was the founder of the Russian school of Indology and Buddhist studies. He devoted the whole of his life (1840-1890) to the study of the East, before all else of India and Indian culture. He had a deep respect for the achievements of the Indian people, was an outstanding scholar, spoke out for the high ideals of equality among nations, supported the Indians in their struggle against British colonialism and believed in the early independence of India. His scientific activities were also devoted to these noble ends.

He received a first-class education in Oriental studies in St Petersburg University, where he studied the Chinese and Tibetan languages under Professor Vasilyev, a leading Sinologist and expert on Buddhism, and then learned Sanskrit and Pali. Minayev's mentor in Indological studies was the well-known Sanskrit scholar Professor K. Kossovich. While still an undergraduate Minayev showed himself to be a thorough and independent researcher as well as being a man of progressive views. He was closely connected with the progressive teachers and professors of the university. Among his teachers were such well-known scholars as Izmail Sreznevsky whose work was distinguished by depth of scientific analysis and a broad approach to the phenomena of world culture. Minayev immediately entered the milieu of those scholars who spoke out against reactionary and orthodox ideas inculcated by tsarism and came out for advanced principles of education.

After leaving St Petersburg University he continued his Indological studies in Germany, England and France, consulting with such prominent scholars as A. Weber, T. Benfey and F. Bopp. By the time he set out on his scholarly journey to Europe Minayev had already mastered Sanskrit and Pali. It is revealing that in Paris his attention was drawn particularly to the Pali manuscripts preserved in the National Library, and he was the first to catalogue these valuable texts.

Minayev was a scholar of exceptionally wide profile. Although primarily a Sanskrit scholar and expert on Buddhism, he was also an ethnographer and geographer, was interested in and did fruitful work on the history of relations between Russia and India. But even in his basic speciality, classical Indology, his scholarly interests were unusually varied: he studied Vedic literature and the edicts of Ashoka, worked on Jaina texts, prepared and published a Pali grammar, and worked on a comparative grammar of Indo-European languages. He was the first in Russia (at St Petersburg University) to introduce the teach-

I. P. Minayev

ing of Prakrits.

Preparing himself for the study of general problems in ancient Indian history and culture, Minayev began with a deep investigation of the *Rigveda*. In his diary notes for 1862 (when he was only 22), we find an interesting explanation of his addressing himself specifically to early Vedic literature: "Maintaining chronological order in my studies of Indian history, I was obliged to dwell on the most ancient relic. Besides, my choice was justified by its enormous importance in Indian life and science, as the first historical source, and, finally, I chose it for a deliberate evaluation of the works of European scholars on the first period of Indian history, at the same time expecting answers from the *Rigveda* to many questions that are occupying me at the present time."

In the first period of his scholarly activity, when studying Indian culture, Minayev appears before all else as a historian. The historical approach is characteristic of all his works. And in the last years of his life, when he was creating major works on Buddhism and his attention was concentrated on the religions of ancient India, he never abandoned the historical method, which was coming to be ever more essential in his scientific quest. To Minayev belong the words, which are true even today: "In portraying the destiny of a religion we must discover the laws determining its development...", "the essence of any spiritual development reveals itself to us in the entirety of its historical development and can be understood only when this process is traced back to the beginning and in this way its sources are revealed.”

The historical principle which guided Minayev in his study of the spiritual life of India had a noticeable effect on his pupils and became characteristic of all the best works of Russian Indologists.

Minayev was engaged in research into Vedic religion, Buddhism and Jainism but he did not isolate one from another. On the contrary, a brilliant knowledge of various religious and philosophical currents enabled him to understand exceptionally deeply the specific character of each school and draw general conclusions. “The history of religion is one-sided,” he wrote, “if the researcher does not pay the necessary attention to the genealogical connection between various religious doctrines, and to their mutual historical relationship that gave rise to various trends.”

At the same time Minayev did not approach the investigation of the spiritual life of ancient India as a narrow specialist. He understood the importance of this subject for the study of his own epoch very well. He stressed that “knowledge of Oriental religions is necessary and very important not only to everyone who in time shall have to work in the East, but the study of religions has great importance for the thinking man of modern times”.

Minayev was a scholar who recognised no boundary between ancient and modern times, to him they were two sides of a single object of research—the spiritual and material culture of a nation. He was well aware that precisely in ancient history can answers be found to many present-day questions. It was no accident that he wrote: “All-round study of ancient and modern India is one of the pressing necessities.”

A speech he made in St Petersburg University in 1884 “On the Study of India in Russian Universities” was of particular importance for the establishment of an Indological school in Russia. In it he argued the necessity of studying in Russia not only ancient, but also modern India. He spoke of the enormous contribution made by India, and the East as a whole, to world civilisation. “Every time we begin to think about the origin, the beginnings of the most important elements in our present-day civilisation, the East reminds us of itself, and the deeper we penetrate into their past the clearer can we see the close historical connection between East and West,” Minayev said. It is interesting that these words were spoken at a time when conceptions of Europocentrism were prevalent in European science. Many West European scholars stressed the fact that Eastern culture was “secondary”, they spoke of its later origin in comparison with the Graeco-Roman civilisation. The struggle with Europocentrist views was characteristic of other Russian scholars as well. “The fuller and more thoroughly one studies her (India’s) distant past, the clearer and more convincing becomes the role of this distant Eastern country in the fortunes of the ancient world. For the man of ancient times it was not just a land of wealth from which he brought out gold, ivory and precious stones, but a land of wisdom too,” he wrote. Pointing out the exceptionally great contribution of ancient India to world civilisation, Minayev stresses not an abstract but the practical interest that Russia had in India. “The study of ancient India should not obscure the scientific and practical importance of vital phenomena in modern India,” Minayev said. Together with this he rightly noted that the interest in Indian history was explained by the closeness of cultures and the important role played by India in world history, and that this interest did not come from any kind of mercenary motives. "We can say with a clear conscience that there have never been any serious thoughts in Russia of a campaign against India or of conquering it." Minayev contrasts Russia's friendly attitude towards India with British colonial policy, which he condemns. In many of his works he notes the appearance of shoots of political self-consciousness among the Indians and foretells the inevitability of a clash between two hostile camps: a handful of strangers and the many millions of the Indian masses.

In order the better to picture the breadth and advanced nature of Minayev's views it is essential to refer to his diary notes made during his trips to India. His first journey to the East (to India, Nepal and Ceylon) was made in 1874-1875. He spent almost two years in these countries, and made a deep study of the culture and life of the population of the region. He set out his impressions in his book *Studies of Ceylon and India. From the Travel Notes of a Russian* published in St Petersburg in 1878. The appearance of this book became a notable event, not just in Russian, but in West European Indology also. It promoted the growth of interest in India in wide strata of Russian society. Being an excellent authority on ancient Indian culture, Minayev collected most valuable information on the religion, history and ethnography of India, and expressed original ideas on many disputed problems of Indology. But the importance of this publication was considerably more far-reaching: Minayev saw important changes in the India of his day and was one of the first European scholars to give an impartial assessment of British colonial policy and its disastrous consequences for India. Some of Minayev's scholarly pronouncements have retained their value up to the present day, so it is quite understandable what great importance his Indological observations had a hundred years ago. In his *Studies* yet another important feature of Minayev as a scholar can be discerned: he not only studied relics of ancient Indian culture and gave them his own interpretation, but also tried to preserve these priceless treasures. In February 1875 he visited Bihar, where he familiarised himself with ancient monuments of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism. Our inquisitive observer found a column with an inscription of Skanda Gupta, a ruler of the Gupta period, studied other epigraphic material and once again noted the exceptional role of Magadha in the history of ancient India. His attention was drawn to the local museum which was in an extremely neglected state, but according to Minayev it had a rich collection of ancient inscriptions, columns, statues and bas-reliefs. He expressed alarm about the future of these monuments. "In this collection," he wrote in his diary, "there is much that is of interest and deserving of better care and publication in photographs. All the things are heaped in the garden and thus subject to the influence of weather changes; a few more years will pass and there is no doubt that much of the collection will be lost to science for ever."

During his very first journey a real treasure-house of ancient culture opened out before him. "Almost everywhere in Bihar and other ancient places in India one can quite unexpectedly come across a residue of hoary antiquity." He carefully studied the ancient inscriptions, pointed out their exclusive role in reconstructing the history of Buddhism and in determining the character of Buddhism in the period of its decline. Minayev went to Nalanda, and justly stressed how important this centre was for the establishment and dissemination of the *Mahayana*. In Nalanda he visited "one of the most curious remains of antiquity"—the Sonbhandar cave. Having a first-class knowledge of the history and culture of ancient India and of original Sanskrit texts, Minayev entered into a dispute with the local archaeologists regarding the dating of this monument.

On arrival in Mathura he became interested in the history of the cult of Krishna and then came to the important conclusion that the cult was independent of Christianity (the thesis that the cult of Krishna was dependent on Christianity was very popular in Indology at that period). Minayev's discussion on the character of Mathura art, with such leading authorities of British Indology as James Princep and Alexander Cunningham, was of great scientific significance. The majority of European scholars at that time considered this school of art in ancient India to be of Greek or Roman origin, while the Russian Indologist, carrying out a careful investigation of the material, produced a different interpretation: that ancient Mathura art had local foundations and was influenced by traditions formed in North-West India during the Indo-Greek period. Minayev was one of the first to pay much attention to the Kushana inscriptions from Mathura and separate the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas into a special group.

No matter where Minayev was, no matter what monuments of antiquity he was studying, he always found himself in the thick of events in the India of his day. In the course of his first visit to the country he began a close study of the character of the relations between the Indians and the British, which enabled him to reveal the new processes coming to life in India—the growth of national self-consciousness among the Indians and their anti-colonial sentiments. He was always on the side of the Indian people. "The Indians cannot bear foreign domination," he wrote in his diary. "The British have not struck deep roots in India; they are an alien element here." "Morally separated, each despising the other, the British and the Indians, even though living in the same city, are far apart from one another; their houses are also far apart, just like their vital interests. Indian questions interest the Englishman only insofar as they affect his personal life, very often this interest is determined by the amount of profit."

As a first-class publicist, Minayev understood what an important part the local press could play in the development of national self-consciousness in the peoples of India, in their struggle against foreign domination. He wrote in his diaries during his first visit that "the press in India, with regard to language, had done what Dante had done in Italy and Luther in Germany". A wealth of evidence, lack of tendentiousness in its selection and evaluation, the civic spirit of the Russian scholar, all make Minayev's diaries a valuable source on the history of the national liberation movement of the Indian people against British colonialism of the 1870s-1880s. In addition, they reflect the progressive social views in Russia and the deep sympathy of the Russians for the struggle of the Indians for their freedom. Minayev's progressive political stand was even more clearly displayed on his second and third visits to the East in 1880 and 1885-1886.

During his last journey to the East Minayev also visited Burma. On his return to St Petersburg in April 1886 he plunged into scientific and teaching work. He prepared for the press and published many important works, but his sudden death cut short his intensive researches and prevented the fulfilment of his broad creative plans. Even his fundamental work on Buddhism was not published in full during his lifetime; only the first volume had appeared. Later on his closest pupil, Sergei Oldenburg, prepared for publication some separate uncompleted parts of his teacher's legacy of Buddhist studies. Minayev wanted to have the diaries of his second and third journeys to India published, however they were not prepared for publication and have been preserved in his archives in manuscript form (notebooks and exercise-books). These diary notes came out only in 1955 although the work of preparing them for the press had begun considerably earlier. At the request of the Soviet Geographical Society, Minayev's niece, A. Schneider, carried out a great deal of preparatory work at the end of the 1920s. She read and copied out the diary notes the scholar had made for himself, frequently in a hurry and abbreviating many words.

Work on the publication of the diaries was continued at the end of the 1940s. Soviet scholars began to prepare for the 110th anniversary of the birth of the founder of Russian Indology. Academician A. Barannikov put forward a proposal to resume publication of Minayev's diaries. He wrote a biography of Minayev and started on the compilation of the essential comments, but was not able to complete the work. After his death N. Goldberg and G. Kotovsky prepared the diaries for publication, and scholars, along with a wide circle of readers, thus had at their disposal the work of this remarkable Russian Indologist. Indian scholars also showed great interest in this publication: the diaries were translated into English and published in Calcutta in 1960.

Like his *Studies of Ceylon and India*, the diaries of his second and third journeys to India are important not merely for the study of the biography of the Russian scholar. They are clear evidence of the consolidation of relations between Russia and India at the end of the 19th century and are permeated with a feeling of deep respect for the peoples of India and a genuine support for the struggle of the Indians to free themselves from British domination.

Undoubtedly the special character of Minayev's diary notes must be taken into account, appearing, as they did, 65 years after his death. The diaries of his first journey to India were prepared for publication by the scholar himself and included essential explanations and selected information with which Minayev wished to acquaint the reader; the notes of the second and third journeys do not consist of material systematised by the author, but are a "reproduction" of personal observations made during his "Eastern travels"; although it is possible that this specific feature has a certain advantage: the notes, made by the scholar on the spot, reflect his first-hand impressions—the author's pen had not touched them after he had gone through them many years later and in different circumstances—in the academic cloisters of St Petersburg.

The basic aim of Minayev's second and third journeys was to get to know monuments of ancient Indian culture, particularly those connected with Buddhism, and to study and collect ancient manuscripts. He visited famous monuments in Ajanta and Ellora, caves in Karle and Kanheri, in the Nasik region, Bhartrihari-Guha—a monastery not far from Ujjain, connected, according to tradition, with the famous poet Bhartrihari. The frescoes in Ajanta, he said, surpassed his expectations. Inspecting Ellora he wrote: "I saw two caves: Kailas and Devavatara. The first (a temple) is really striking in the abundance of stucco work, and in its layout... The second is equally remarkable... In the first one there is such a mass of murals that it could be read as a book of Indian mythology. Of course not all those interpretations given by the local Brahmans can be considered true." This points not only to admiration for the remarkable monuments of ancient Indian culture, but also to the critical approach of a specialist to the explanations of guides and local pundits. He sometimes introduced into his diary detailed information about these monuments, which he later referred to when working on his scientific essays. In Calcutta he studied the Bharhut bas-reliefs in the National Museum (in his work *Buddhism* Minayev pays particular attention to this Buddhist complex) and the Gandhara sculptures, worked in the Asiatic Society and became acquainted with the collection of ancient manuscripts. In India he was fortunate enough to meet many well-known Indian scholars. In Bombay he got to know the outstanding Indian historian Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and the famous epigraphist and historian Bhagwanlal Indraji. Over many years a close relation bound Minayev and Indraji. Minayev discussed with him problems of ancient Indian epigraphy, studied photographs of inscriptions and compared them with those already published by A. Cunningham. He came to the conclusion that "the inscriptions of Cunningham are with errors, particularly the inscription of Khalsi" (what is obviously meant is a version of the edicts of Ashoka from Kalsi). In 1880 Indraji acquainted the Russian scholar with some new inscriptions of the Kushana ruler Huvishka which he had discovered in Mathura, and a rich collection of Kshatrapa coins. Six years later Minayev once again met Indraji and discussed with him problems of numismatics. During the years that Minayev was in India the Indian historical school was still in the making. It is therefore very indicative that the Russian Indologist set up particularly close ties with Indian scholars, and it was precisely with them that he discussed cardinal problems in the history and culture of ancient India. These meetings laid the foundations of scientific relations between Russian and Indian Indologists and were useful to both sides. Minayev was an outstanding specialist on Buddhism and Indian epigraphy and it is therefore not by chance that Indian scholars regarded him with great respect and complete confidence. For the Russian scholar these conversations and scientific discussions were very interesting. Acquaintance with new sources broadened his scholarly horizon, and in the course of meetings with outstanding Indian scholars Minayev checked his own scientific conclusions and amplified the facts he had at his disposal. Thus, for example, the investigation, together with Indraji, of the inscriptions of Ashoka possibly determined the enormous attention that Minayev paid to these sources in his major work on the history of Buddhism. Mention should be made of the importance of the discussions between Minayev and Indraji on problems of Kushana epigraphy. At the beginning of the 1880s scientific study of the Kushana age was only just beginning, major discoveries of Kushana inscriptions were still ahead, but Minayev was already attaching great importance to Indraji's finds. The meeting of the Russian and the Indian scholar and their discussion of problems of the Kushana relics also had a symbolic character: it gave a start to future international symposia and conferences on the Kushana period in which Soviet and Indian specialists took part. Creative contacts of Soviet and Indian scholars on these problems at the present time are particularly fruitful.

During his third visit to India Minayev went to Bombay where he once again met his good friend and colleague Indraji. "The old man was happy to see me," he wrote in his diary. They discussed problems of archaeology (the conversations were conducted in Sanskrit) and also the policy of the British in India.

A brilliant Sanskrit scholar, Indraji was deeply worried by the outrages committed by the British in his country, but he knew that the Indians were not yet strong enough to offer any active opposition to the power of the foreigners based on the bayonet and the gun. He sharply condemned "the ulcers of Western culture" which had penetrated into India—drunkenness, robbery, debauchery, although he was not, according to Minayev, "a supporter of the old order".

During his stay in India Minayev established quite close relations with many Indian scholars. In Bombay, he met Mahadeo Maheshvar Kunte, a well-known Maratha scholar, several times, and discussed with him problems of Buddhism. He conversed with the Indian Sanskrit scholar Gattulalji in Sanskrit. In his diary he noted that he frequently carried on conversations in Sanskrit with Indian scholars, Brahmans, and the senior priests of temples that he visited. His great professionalism aroused deep respect among the Indians. As the Anglo-Indian newspaper *Times of India* reported on February 7, 1890, I. Minayev had met with Indian scholars in Bombay and the Russian scholar's profoundness, the ease with which he expressed himself in Sanskrit, had made a deep impression on the Indians.

The breadth of Minayev's scholarly interests was to be seen during his journeys to India and Burma. Together with epigraphy and Buddhism he was also interested in Jainism, visited many Jain temples, and attended Jain sermons. In Ahmedabad a Jain monk, in a singsong voice, read the *Bhagavati-sutra*, one of the most important canonical works of Jainism, then he translated the text into Sanskrit and gave explanations in Gujarati. In his diary Minayev tells of his visit to the famous Deccan College in Poona (it is still one of the major scientific centres of India), where he became acquainted with Jain manuscripts. Small wonder that he describes his visit to the Deccan College in detail. His notes are not just a story about Jain manuscripts, but an interesting document on the attitude of a Russian scholar to Indian science. "Engrossed in Jain manuscripts; chose one and wanted to obtain a copy from it, on which grounds I had a curious conversation with the principal, who insisted that I should approach Dr Bühler for information about the Jains and when I pointed out that the native scholars could give me the same information, the principal categorically denied this. Dastur, who was present at the conversation, was extremely displeased at this remark. When we left the principal, Dastur in turn said: 'These English do not understand anything.'" Minayev's notes are very indicative: the British principal of the Deccan College, Oxenham, denied the scientific qualifications of the Indian specialists on ancient manuscripts, while Minayev valued the level of Indian scholarship very highly. Minayev was one of the world's leading authorities on the study of religious texts of ancient India and Bühler's works were well known to him. It is interesting that Minayev's views frequently coincided with those of Indian scholars, so it was no accident that it was precisely to Minayev, as to a close friend, that one of the teachers in the Deccan College expressed the alarm of progressive circles of Indian society: "These English do not understand anything."

Minayev made many good friends among the scientists of Calcutta, which he visited in January 1886. Bengal was at that time the centre of anti-British sentiment and a feeling for national independence was growing among the Indians. The Russian scholar warmly responded to the aspirations of the Indians, paying enormous attention and sympathy to their views. In his diaries Minayev presents himself not just as an outstanding scholar but also as a man of progressive political views and a supporter of India's aspirations for independence. His scientific conversations almost always finished with an evaluation of the political situation in the country. In conversations on political subjects he was not just a listener but an active and unbiased participant in the discussion. Great scientific authority and progressive political views were what lay at the base of those friendly feelings Indian scholars felt towards him. Representatives of the most varied social groups in Indian society also had great respect for him. During his stay in Calcutta most memorable for him were his meetings with Mahesha Chandra Nyayaratna, well-known philologist and Sanskrit scholar, one of the leading specialists on Bengali literature; with Haraprasad Shastri, writer, historian and expert in Buddhism; with Haridas Shastri, well-known specialist on Pali literature; Jivanand Vidyasagara, outstanding Sanskrit scholar and publisher of the large explanatory Sanskrit dictionary, and Sarat Chandra Das, well-known traveller across Tibet and compiler of a Tibetan-English dictionary.

On March 4, 1886, Minayev was invited to a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Indian scholars welcomed Minayev most warmly. "The meeting greeted me," he wrote in his diary. "I am always surprised by the kindness of the Bengalis towards me; it is kindness to Russians and not to me personally." After he had seen Haridas Shastri the following note appeared in his diary: Bengalis "are very kind to me. They will be just as kind, I believe, to any Russian."

During his meetings with Indian scholars Minayev encouraged in them a feeling of national independence and called on them to place the independence of Indian scholarship on a firm foundation. After conversations with Haridas Shastri and Sarat Chandra Das he wrote: "In conversation with Haridas Shastri and earlier with Chandra Das, there crept in a mistrust of European scholars: a good sign!" A supporter of the independence of Indian historical science, Minayev knew perfectly well that among European scholars, working at that time in India, there were quite a few specialists committed to science, who tried to adopt an objective approach to the appreciation of India's cultural heritage. It was in India that he met some outstanding Indologists, for example, Rudolf Hoernle. However, one can find in his notes some sharp comments on those British Indologists who, serving in the British administration in India, expressed the interests of the British colonial system. The works of Alfred Lyall had a negative effect on the development of scientific Indology in the West. He took an extremely conservative stand and at the time of Minayev's third visit to India was Governor of the provinces of Agra and Oudh. Minayev had a critical attitude towards Lyall's works, and was quite aware that Indian scholars expressed their disapproval of him. "Native liberals," he wrote in his diary, "do not like Sir Alfred Lyall." The British official called for the perpetuation in the country of obsolete traditions which answered the interests of British colonial policy. Minayev wrote that Lyall's articles spoke of his sympathy with "orthodox Hindus".

As a student of Buddhism Minayev was interested in the fate of Buddhism in Tibet and Nepal as well as in India. Sarat Chandra Das talked to Minayev in detail about Tibet, about Sanskrit manuscripts, including some written on palm leaves. Minayev made a journey to Darjeeling in order to learn something of the traditions of ancient Tibetan culture. He visited Tibetan schools, inspected monasteries and *stupas* but what aroused his greatest interest was the "ethnography of the locality". "All these nationalities," we read in his diary, "that one meets at every step, have up till now been very poorly studied and very unsatisfactorily described." One of the first Indologists in the world to do so, Minayev called attention to the need for an ethnographical study of this region of Asia. In this connection Minayev's work *Indian Tales and Legends, Collected in Kamaon in 1875* holds great interest. In 1886, in Calcutta, Minayev made the acquaintance of the outstanding Bengali writer Bonkim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, whose books, carrying a dedicatory inscription to Minayev, are preserved in the library of the Oriental Studies Department of Leningrad State University.

Minayev met leading figures in Indian culture and representatives of the national movement such as K. T. Telang and W. C. Bonnerjee. Judging by his diaries he took a lively interest in the fate of the peasant movement led by Vasudev Bulwant Phadkey. On January 31, 1880, he had a meeting with Telang and noted some facts from Phadkey's biography in his diary. Minayev highly appraised the struggle of the Marathis against the British. "Phadkey," he wrote, "had pure, lofty intentions and it was not difficult to forecast his failure." These words were written at a time when the colonial authorities were waging a bitter struggle against the insurgents, when Phadkey had been arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment.

In Poona Minayev met the teachers of the school founded by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who later became a leader of the national liberation movement.

It is typical of Minayev that, being in India, he made contact with the most progressive figures in the national liberation movement and felt a deep respect and sympathy for them.

From India Minayev travelled to Burma. As an expert in Buddhism it was essential that he got to know "living Buddhism", the Buddhist works to be found in abundance in book repositories of temples, in libraries and private collections. He visited Burma at the end of 1885 and the beginning of 1886, which was a very difficult time for that country: the third Anglo-Burmese war had just ended. Here, as in India, he was on the side of the Eastern peoples, fully supporting the struggle of the Burmese against enslavement by the British. In an article published in 1887, "The British in Burma", he showed the real aims of British policies in Burma and called on the Burmese to continue the struggle against the foreigners.

For his Buddhist researches even Minayev's short stay in Burma (fifty days altogether) was very useful and fruitful. He gathered a large collection of Pali manuscripts, in which he was given invaluable help by Burmese scholars as well as Buddhist monks. His collection is extremely valuable because he managed to save unique Buddhist works from destruction. The tense political situation in the country had led to the destruction of many ancient manuscripts; it was due to Minayev's protest against these acts of vandalism that the British authorities took steps to register manuscript collections. In this instance the Russian Orientalist came forth not only as an outstanding specialist but also as a defender of the cultural heritage of the peoples of the East.

In Burma Minayev got acquainted with the educational systems in the secular and monastic schools; he was particularly interested to know what texts were studied there and how the ancient cultural traditions were preserved. He expressed anxiety over the fact that Buddhism and Pali literature were not studied in the country. In his meetings with scholars and monks he conversed in Sanskrit and Pali, sought out rare texts, essential for the study of Buddhist history and doctrine. He inspected private libraries and state collections of manuscripts (unfortunately, by the time of his arrival many unique manuscripts had either been destroyed or lost), and discovered important Pali texts on poetics, grammar, etc.

Minayev's high professionalism as a Russian scholar of Buddhism struck all who met him. He wrote in his diary on January 26, 1886: "My study of these books (i. e. Pali manuscripts in the library of the royal court) made a great impression. The British began to fuss. They were ashamed that they hadn't a scholar who could understand Pali." His work was very difficult as the manuscripts were stored in disorder, in trunks, and there was no inventory, but he was fortunate enough to discover a number of most valuable manuscripts. Examining one of the manuscript collections he noted: "I have never seen such a collection of Pali manuscripts gathered in one place in any of the European book depositories." "I shall not be at all surprised if, on a more detailed inspection, there should turn out to be works which are completely unknown, even by name, to European scholars." Some of the Pali texts which he managed to acquire Minayev subsequently published on his return home. His collection of Pali and Sanskrit manuscripts laid the foundation for textual researches of Russian Indologists.

Minayev may rightly be called one of the founders of the Russian school of Indology, an outstanding scholar of Buddhism, who made an important contribution to world Buddhist studies. He was a prominent Orientalist, and a considerable number of his works were devoted to the study of various aspects of ancient Buddhism and the Buddhism of his times in Asia. He understood and constantly stressed the great role of Buddhism in the cultural and historical development of the East, made wide use of Buddhist material in his studies of folklore, literature, religion and languages. He was the teacher and mentor in Buddhist studies of such outstanding scholars as Sergei Oldenburg and Fyodor Shcherbatskoy, which to a great extent determined the direction of their scientific activity.

Minayev's creative career as a scholar of Buddhism is confined to the seventies and eighties of the last century, a time when the Western world was trying, with ever growing persistence, to penetrate the depths of the spiritual culture of the Orient, its philosophical and religious currents, when the contribution of the Eastern nations to world civilisation was being given a new interpretation. At this time there appeared many earlier unknown Buddhist works and the first generalising works on the history of Buddhist doctrine were published. The basic interest of Buddhist scholars was directed to the historical heritage of Southern Buddhism—the *Theravada* or *Sthaviravada* school—the Pali Canon.

In 1837 British Indologist G. Turner published the *Mahavamsa*, an ancient Pali chronicle of Ceylon, in 1855 the leading Danish Sanskrit scholar V. Fausböll published the Pali *Dhammapada*, one of the most popular relics of Buddhism, and two years later he began the publication of the Pali *Jatakas*, remarkable folklore legends on the life of the Buddha; German Indologist Hermann Oldenberg prepared, in 1879, a multi-volume edition of the *Vinaya-Pitaka*. Exceptional interest in Pali literature led to the foundation of the Pali Text Society, for the study of the Pali language and literature.

Gradually there came into scientific circulation, in addition to the *Hinayana*

(Lesser Vehicle) Pali world, relics of Northern Buddhism – the Great Vehicle – the *Mahayana*. Thanks to the contribution made by Brian Hodgson, a prominent British scholar of Buddhism and authority on manuscripts, rich collections of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts were discovered; the Hungarian researcher, Alexander Csoma de Körös, was one of the first to draw the attention of scholars to Tibetan religious and historical literature, and a catalogue of works on the Chinese Buddhist canon (*Tripitaka*), compiled by the Japanese researcher Bunyiu Nanjio, initiated the scientific study of translated and original Buddhist literature of China.

The study of *Mahayana* sources caused scholars of Buddhism to revise a number of traditional tenets and faced them with new problems, such as the distinguishing features of the original teaching of the Buddha, the time and ways in which the canon developed, the evolvement of philosophical and religious thought in different Buddhist schools, both in the country of its origin—India, and beyond her confines.

All the above aspects of Buddhist studies were reflected in the works of I. Minayev, whose name rightly holds pride of place among 19th-century scholars of Buddhism, alongside the names of E. Burnouf (France), H. Oldenberg (Germany), F. W. Rhys Davids (Britain), Hendrik Kern (Holland) and Emile Senart (France).

In the extensive heritage of Buddhist studies left by Minayev we find works connected with publications and translations of Buddhist texts, and also works of a theoretical nature, devoted to research into Buddhist doctrine and the stages of its development.

Minayev's basic theoretical work, which was preceded by a number of articles and editions of texts, is his major work *Buddhism. Researches and Materials* published in 1887. Unfortunately his premature death prevented him from completing his research, although the appearance of the first volume was a noteworthy contribution to world Buddhology, as is proved by its publication in French with a foreword by the outstanding French scholar Emile Senart, who pointed out the originality and great scientific value of this work by the Russian scholar.

The aim of Minayev's work, he wrote in his foreword, was to "verify the conclusions and theses generally accepted among contemporary researchers".

The fact is that during Minayev's lifetime there had developed in Buddhist studies a view of Buddhism as of a religious-ethical teaching that having once emerged remained almost completely unchanged in the course of its long existence, and at the same time the text of the *Tipitaka* (*Tripitaka*) was looked upon as a complete and systematic exposition of the most ancient Buddhist doctrine. The majority of 19th-century researchers had an uncritical approach to reports of the Southern Canon and of later Pali commentators of various events in the history of Buddhism, and in determining the chronology of the creation of separate texts and the history of the Buddhist community scholars relied entirely on the evidence of Pali canonical tradition. It was essential to possess exceptional learning, a deep, comprehensive knowledge of Buddhist sources, scientific courage and the deepest intuition in order to oppose beliefs that did not raise the slightest doubt among scholars.

Minayev was convinced of the need for an all-embracing study of Buddhism, which he regarded as a broad historico-cultural and social phenomenon that had had a great influence on many aspects of the life of the nations of the

East. He was one of the first to try to correlate actual events in the history of Buddhism with certain landmarks in the political history of India. He frequently stressed that an understanding of the essence of Buddhism was possible only with an analysis of the spiritual life of India as a whole, and the study of other religions such as Brahmanism, Jainism and Hinduism.

In his book he pays special attention to the problem of Buddhist Councils and he linked with them history of the compilation of the Pali Canon. Analysing Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan texts he came to the conclusion that Buddhist Councils, traditionally regarded as general, all-India Councils, were in fact in nature gatherings of specific Buddhist sects and schools. Minayev's conclusions on the sectarian character of the councils and the transformation of reports on them in later schools of Buddhism aroused long and animated discussion among scholars. A number of researchers continued to support Oldenberg's opinion on the reality of the first Buddhist Councils, and it was only later that the well-known French scholar, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, in his works on the history of early Buddhism, proved the correctness of Minayev's conclusions. Today Minayev's conclusions have received wide recognition among world Orientalists, including leading scholars in India.

Minayev also put forward the quite just supposition that these Councils were basically occupied in deciding community affairs and not theoretical activities. This conclusion enabled him to reconsider the chronological order of the creation of the *Tripitaka* accepted in his day. According to him, neither the *Vinaya-Pitaka* nor the *Sutta-Pitaka* in their canonical form, that is the form in which they became known to European researchers, had existed at the time of the First Council, as was traditionally thought, or even several centuries later. In confirmation of this conclusion, besides adducing the evidence of literary works, he proceeds to analyse the Bairat inscriptions of Ashoka and the relics of Buddhist monumental art—the bas-reliefs in the famous Bharhut *stupa.* This compendium of Buddhism, as Minayev called it, carved in granite, contrary to the opinion of many researchers, did not confirm the existence of the Pali Canon at that period, but was rather evidence of the existence of another canon, different from the Ceylonese. In Minayev's opinion there were quite a few such canons differing from the Pali *Theravada* Canon; each sect, each school had its own scriptures which were declared to be the true, original teaching of the Buddha. In Minayev's words: "The history of the Canon can be re-created only by way of a comparative study, based on relics of different Buddhist sects, of separate religious doctrines in their gradual development." He wrote that for success it was essential to renounce the very widespread, but completely untenable, preconceived proposition of the primary antiquity of the Pali Canon.

Thus Minayev was one of the first to confirm, and prove by his works, that the final wording of the Pali Canon came much later. In this connection he attached special importance to the texts of the *Mahayana*, where, in his opinion, the oldest views of the Buddhists, not preserved in the Pali Canon, could be discovered. His conclusions about the later origin of the Ceylonese Canon in Pali, about the existence of different sectarian canons and the major role of the *Mahayana* literature for the reconstruction of the early teaching of the Buddha were drawn nearly a century ago, yet they have not lost their importance even today. The problems raised by Minayev turned out to be very topical at present, when Buddhology possesses a considerably larger collection of varied sources of Northern and Southern Buddhism, making possible a new approach to the question of pre-canonical teaching and its reconstruction. Scientific debates on the role of the *Hinayana* and the *Mahayana* texts and their links with the primary teaching of the Buddha are still going on. These discussions were conducted by Vasily Vasilyev, Ivan Minayev and the Dutch scholar Hendrik Kern in their day, and were continued in the 1920s and 1930s by Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Shcherbatskoy, the German Indologist Heinrich Lüders, and then by the Austrian scholar Erich Frauwallner, the Frenchman A. Bareau and many leading Indian scholars, including Nalinaksha Dutt, J. C. Pande and others.

Minayev's in-depth analysis of the basic problems in the history of Buddhism is based on a brilliant knowledge of factual material to be found in various kinds of sources: written records, oral traditions, specimens of art, etc.

A fine intuition helped him to select from an enormous mass of material, that was either very little studied or completely unstudied, works necessary for research. He was one of the first to pay attention to such an interesting relic as the *Jatakas*, which had not as yet been published then, and which Minayev got to know from various manuscripts. A series of articles on the *Jatakas* clearly reflected his general historical and cultural approach to the study of Buddhism and its literature. He looked on the *Jatakas* first and foremost as models of folk art, very important for the study of Indian folklore, and not merely as a relic expounding the Buddhist code of morals. It is indicative that in his study of the history of Buddhism, Buddhist literature and art Minayev attached particular importance to the role of the people in the creation of these cultural values. He wrote about the "brilliant history of folk art over some twenty centuries and more". Studying the relics of literature and art, he was reading a "living narrative of the intellectual and emotional life of an ancient people".

Minayev was a superb textual critic to whom scholarship is obliged for the publication of a number of extremely valuable, at times unique, Buddhist texts. During his travels in the East he gathered, as already mentioned, a splendid collection of manuscripts from India, Ceylon, Nepal and Burma, now kept in the Manuscript Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Library in Leningrad. The collection of manuscripts in Pali from Ceylon and Burma is particularly valuable. During his lifetime he managed to publish only a few manuscripts from his collection, such as the *Anagatavamsa*, and the hymn to *Avalokiteshvara*. However, the greater part of these valuable manuscripts still awaits the researcher and the publisher. An interest in manuscripts, in the textual study and palaeography of ancient works was aroused in Minayev at the very beginning of his scholarly career.

Minayev's master's dissertation encompassed the editing, translation and investigation of the *Pratimokshasutra* (*Patimokkhasutta*). The choice of this text as an object of research was determined by the exceptional importance of this Buddhist scripture, one of the oldest canonical works, for a study of the history of the organisation of the Buddhist community and the struggle between different schools and sects. Thanks to this publication Buddhology became acquainted with the Pali text of the Buddhist code of disciplinary rules, previously known only in translation. The edition of the *Pratimokshasutra*, based on several manuscripts, may in fact be considered the first scientific work of textual criticism in Russian Indology, the precursor of the world famous series "Bibliotheca Buddhica", founded by Minayev's pupils, Academicians Shcherbatskoy and Oldenburg.

The most interesting of the Pali sources published by Minayev is the *Kathavatthupakarana*, a work devoted to an account of controversial issues of Buddhist philosophy and the struggle of orthodox Buddhists against representatives of various heretical schools. Ceylonese tradition attributes the expounding of the *Kathavatthu* to Tissa Moggaliputta, who is supposed to have put it forth at the Third Council at Pataliputra. Minayev, analysing the text in the historical plane, came to the conclusion that it was of later origin, which in his opinion in no way lessened its extreme importance as evidence of an intense struggle between different schools of Buddhism that had been going on for many centuries. It should be noted that Minayev was one of the first European scholars to make a deep study of the history of schisms and heresies in Buddhism.

In the second issue of his major work *Buddhism. Researches and Materials*, Minayev published the *Mahavyutpatti* or *Great Etymology*. Composed approximately at the beginning of the 9th century, it was very popular in the Buddhist world and came to us in Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian and Manchurian translations.

Minayev made use of all the above-mentioned versions for his edition. Subsequently, in 1910-1911, the text of the *Mahavyutpatti* was republished and appeared in the thirteenth volume of the "Bibliotheca Buddhica", and is still an indispensable source for the lexicology of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

In 1889 he published the text of one of the most outstanding works of Northern Buddhism, the poem by the 7th-century preacher and philosopher Shantideva—the *Bodhicarya-avatara*. This work is remarkable in that it is a compendium of the philosophical views of the *Mahayana*. It is scarcely possible to attribute it to any one school of the *Mahayana*, for the followers of the most varied schools, beginning with the *Sarvastivadins* and ending with the *Yogacaras*, each regarded this poem as one of their fundamental works. The publication of such a source as the *Bodhicarya-avatara* can be considered to be the beginning of the next stage in Minayev's Buddhist studies. During the first stage of his scholarly activities Minayev was basically interested in the history of Buddhism and the Buddhist community—the *Sangha*, Councils, schisms and heresies, then he turned to Shantideva's work, a philosophical source reflecting the later development of concepts of the *Mahayana* in India, which indicates the appearance of interest in another aspect of Buddhism—its philosophical content.

Minayev's works on the Pali language and Sanskrit literature form a particular part of his scientific legacy. His dissertation "On the Phonetics and Morphology of the Pali Language", published in 1872, was an enormous contribution to world Indology. It was distinguished from earlier Pali grammars in being based on many years' study of Pali texts, and contained a section on phonetics, in which Sanskrit forms were given with their Pali equivalents. In 1874 it was translated into French, and in 1875 into English. The scholarly level of the grammar was so high that it became the basic textbook for the study of Pali in India and Burma.

Along with his study of works in Pali, Minayev paid great attention to the study of Sanskrit literature. He wrote a general survey of the most important relics of Sanskrit literature which was the first such detailed resumé of the literature of ancient India in Russian scholarship. In his survey he gave an exposition of Vedic, Buddhist, epic literatures, classical Kavya, folk literature and drama.

Minayev's many-sided approach to the study of ancient Indian literature laid the foundation for further fruitful research in this field of Indology by Russian and Soviet Sanskrit scholars.

He died in 1890. His archives tell us of his grandiose plans. Several of his works, published after his death, were prepared for publication by one of his dearest pupils, Sergei Oldenburg. They included a series of translations of Pali texts from the *Petavatthu*, the *Sutta-Nipata* and the *Mahavagga*. Teacher and pupil were close friends and Minayev highly valued Oldenburg's talent.

Minayev's outstanding successor in the field of both Buddhist studies and the teaching of Sanskrit in St Petersburg University was Academician Fyodor Shcherbatskoy.

The creation of a well-founded school of Indology in Russia was one of the main services rendered by Ivan Minayev.

## 3. Indological Studies in Russia at the End of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century Indological research in Russia was developing in several directions. The centre of research in the field of ancient Indian culture connected with Buddhism was St Petersburg, where the most outstanding pupils of I. Minayev, S. Oldenburg and F. Shcherbatskoy, were working in the Asiatic Museum and St Petersburg University. Sanskrit studies are represented, basically, by specialists in comparative linguistics working in various of the country's universities.

In Moscow the scientific work of a number of P. Petrov's pupils was underway. Most important is the contribution made by Academician Filipp Fortunatov (1848-1914), one of Russia's leading linguists. After graduating from Moscow University he continued his studies in 1872-1873, under some of Europe's leading Sanskrit scholars: in Tübingen with R. Roth, in Berlin with A. Weber and in Paris with Abel Bergaigne. His dissertation, published in Moscow in 1875, was an edition of the text of the *Samaveda-aranyakasamhita* with a Russian translation, an extensive commentary, a research and an appendix on certain problems of the comparative grammar of Indo-European languages. The text of the *Samaveda* had always been published in Europe without the *Aranyaka*, and thus Fortunatov was the first to publish the *Aranyaka*. His book was a piece of sound research which gave a survey of Vedic literature and reviewed a number of important problems in its history, in particular, the question of the correlation of Vedic sacrificial formulae and sacrificial ritual. In the opinion of the author, the ritual was not always more ancient than the formulae, on the contrary, a number of ritual actions could be explained proceeding from the Vedic texts. Particular attention was given to reviews of the *Samaveda* and its commentaries. He showed that in a number of instances much older textual variants are contained in the *Samaveda* than in the hymns of the *Rigveda*. The meaning of terms was analysed in detail and on the basis of extensive comparative material. In doing this Fortunatov introduced corrections into usages given by Sanskrit dictionaries. The textual principles of his work are interesting. Distinct from the majority of German scholars, headed by R. Roth, Fortunatov aimed at unifying the meaning of Sanskrit words. He avoided any revision of a text that proceeded from the norms of classical Sanskrit grammar, distinguishing the slips made by copyists to be found in separate manuscripts from "errors" manifested by all manuscripts and belonging to the text itself. He formulated this principle as follows: "The task of the publisher of Vedic texts at the present time is the transmission of that text which actually exists and which existed in antiquity as far back as we can trace it." His textual methods were closer to those of modern times than the method of Roth and his followers. Among Fortunatov's contemporaries his methodology was similar to that of the outstanding French Sanskrit scholar A. Bergaigne, although the latter's book had not yet been published at the time.

In the interpretation of Vedic texts the Russian scholar, contrary to the position adopted by Horace Wilson and Theodor Goldstücker, maintained that the starting point should not be the Vedic tradition itself nor the interpretation of the medieval commentator Sayana, but the comparison of parallel passages and scientific etymology. "We must not, of course, ignore the commentators and without fail make use of their works as one of the aids," wrote Fortunatov, "we have the right only to be as critical of their works as we are of the explanations of European scholars." His researches were carried out on the highest level. In his works on the comparative phonetics and morphology of Indo-European languages considerable attention is given to ancient Indian languages. In Fortunatov's legacy there is also a special work on ancient Indian phonetics, which was translated into German and aroused a lively interest among European scholars.

Academician Vsevolod Miller (1848-1913) was also one of Petrov's pupils. He continued his education studying the *Vedas* and the *Avesta* in Berlin under the guidance of A. Weber, and in Tübingen under R. Roth. Miller had particularly close bonds with the well-known specialist on the *Rigveda* Alfred Ludwig, who was working in Prague. Miller's dissertation "A Review of Aryan Mythology in the Context of the Most Ancient Culture, Issue I, 'Ashvins-Dioscuri' " was planned on a wide basis and included material on Vedic society as well as on Vedic literature and mythology. Anticipating to some extent the book by the German scholar Heinrich Zimmer *Life in Ancient India* (*Altindisches Leben*), Miller gave, on the basis of Vedic texts, a description of the Aryans' public life, their families, crafts, arms, etc. The ideas reflected in the *Vedas* were reviewed in comparison with Greek, Roman and Iranian mythology. Material expounded by the author on ancient Russian pagan mythology is very interesting and original. He criticises the concepts of M. Müller and A. Kuhn that were very popular in the scientific literature of the period and that reduced all the varied mythological systems to cults of the Sun or Thunder. In his opinion, in order to prove their theses supporters of these theories make uncritical use of material borrowed from different nations and at different times. He tried to find a more accurate historical methodology for comparative research into mythology. A large place in his book is given to proof that among all Indo-European peoples, prior to their settling apart, the twin cult was widespread. Miller also tried to determine the primary idea of this cult. This theme also attracts a great deal of attention in contemporary science.

Miller's monograph gives a translation and critique of a number of Vedic hymns; his translations came out in other publications too. He also wrote a number of special linguistic works on Sanskrit. He taught Sanskrit in Moscow University for many years, and together with F. Knauer compiled a Sanskrit textbook. Miller's efforts to have a special department of Sanskrit set up in Moscow were unsuccessful;, however, in the 1880s Sanskrit became an obligatory subject for students of philology in the University. Under the guidance of Miller beginners in linguistics studied Prakrit and Sanskrit texts.

His most important research was in the field of comparative folklore studies and the history of literature; thus, he made a valuable contribution to the study of the Ossetian language and folklore. In mountainous Chechna (Ossetia) he discovered a fairy-tale which can be traced to Indian *Vetala* tales and in a special article he dwelt on the problem of the migrations of the Indian fairy-tale, comparing the latter with Tatar, Kabardinian and Mongolian versions. This trend in Miller's work found a parallel and continuation in Russian science in the works of Sergei Oldenburg, Boris Vladimirtsov, Rosalie Shor and other scholars.

An exceptionally versatile linguist, having command of a large number of the most varied Oriental languages and dialects, was Academician Fyodor Korsch (1843-1915), professor of Moscow University. In this respect he reminded one of his teacher, P. Petrov, but surpassed him in thoroughness of his theoretical grounding. Korsch had a complete command of Sanskrit and even wrote verse in it. According to the reminiscences of his contemporaries he could be witty when speaking dead Oriental languages. He used Indological material in general philological works, and he also prepared a comprehensive work on the Indian metre, which remained in manuscript. A part of this work, however, research on the Indian poetical metre—the *shloka*, was published in one of the Russian magazines.

In Russian universities of last century there was usually a department of comparative linguistics and Sanskrit, and all leading Russian linguists, specialists in comparative linguistics, were thus at the same time scholars in Sanskrit. Some of them made an in-depth study of Sanskrit and published special research articles. The leading Ukrainian linguist Afanasy Potebnya studied Sanskrit in Berlin in the early 1860s. A pupil of Petrov's, the linguist Alexander Duvernoise, wrote special works in Sanskrit studies and made a translation of the *Mundakopanishad*. The well-known Slavist I. Yagich was teaching Sanskrit in the University of Odessa, and in Kazan and Dorpat studies were led by the remarkable linguist Ivan Baudouin de Courtainay. One of the pupils of the latter, the young, talented scholar Nikolai Krushevsky published translations of several hymns from the *Rigveda* and prepared a number of articles on Sanskrit phonetics. Sanskrit was considered absolutely essential for the specialised work of linguists, and in particular for those working in comparative linguistics. For Russian linguists this was frequently the first step in their scholarly training. The basic achievements of Fortunatov, Baudouin de Courtainay and A. Potebnya were not in the field of Sanskrit studies, although the study of Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature was a school for them.

Professor Vikenty Scherzl (1843-1906) of Kharkov University was engaged in more specialised Sanskrit research. He received his initial education in Sanskrit and Zend in St Petersburg, under Kossovich, and then studied Hindi, Chinese and Japanese in London. In Kharkov, in 1872-1873, he published a

Sanskrit Reader. He wrote research works on the syntax of the ancient Indian language, prepared a work on personal pronouns in Sanskrit and so on. His brother Robert Scherzl was also an expert in Sanskrit. The young Sanskrit scholar Alexander Popov (1855-1880), who unfortunately died young, was a pupil of V. Scherzl. In the opinion of specialists his researches into Sanskrit syntax showed unusual learning and devotion to science. At the end of the 19th century another Ukrainian city, Kiev, where F. Knauer was teaching, became a centre of Sanskrit studies.

Dorpat was an old centre of comparative linguistics and Sanskrit studies. The first to teach Sanskrit there, as early as 1837, was Carl Keil (1812-1865). From 1865 to 1898 Sanskrit studies were led by Leo Meyer, a specialist in the field of classical philology and comparative grammar. The most remarkable of his students was Leopold von Schröder (1851-1920).

Schröder was born in Dorpat in 1851 and studied at the *gymnasium* and university there. After graduating from the university in 1873 he perfected his knowledge of Sanskrit in Leipzig under Heinrich Brockhaus and E. Kuhn, in Jena under B. Delbrück and Carl Kapeller and in Tübingen under Rudolf Roth. He was helped by Otto Böhtlingk. In 1877 he defended his thesis on the stress in the language of Homer in comparison with the Vedic language, and in 1879 in Dorpat, his doctoral dissertation on an important relic of Vedic literature the *Maitrayaniya Samhita*, the text of which was published on behalf of, and at the expense of, the Russian Academy of Sciences. (This edition of Schröder's was recently published in the Federal Republic of Germany.) The first period of Schröder's scientific and teaching activities, which enjoyed the full support of the Russian Academy of Sciences, is connected with Dorpat. From 1894 on Schröder lived in Vienna, where he became the successor to the well-known scholar Georg Bühler. He wrote a great number of works on linguistics, and the literature and religion of ancient India. At the beginning of the century he was one of the patriarchs of Indology. He never broke off his connections with Russia, and was a member of a number of scientific associations of the Baltic area (Estonian Scientific Association, Scientific Association of Riga and others). His connections with the Baltic area also influenced his scientific interests. He studied the customs of the Ests and other Finno-Ugrian tribes, primarily their marriage customs, and found evidence of contacts in the remote past between these peoples and Indo-European peoples, including Aryan peoples.

The well-known Sanskrit scholar Professor Friedrich Knauer of Kiev University, was a pupil of Meyer and of Schröder. Knauer (1849-1917) descended from a family of German colonists, was born in Bessarabia (now Moldavian SSR) and worked in Berdyansk. He suffered numerous hardships in life and at last succeeded in entering the Historico-Philological Faculty of Dorpat University, where he studied Sanskrit. Schröder's influence can be felt in Knauer's first works on the stress in the *Rigveda* and in the Greek language. The young scholar continued his education in Sanskrit in Jena, under Berthold Delbrück and Carl Kapeller. On the advice of Delbrück he completed a major work on the accentuation of Sanskrit words, facilitating the introduction of a number of corrections and additions to the St Petersburg dictionaries. In Tübingen he studied the *Vedas* and the *Avesta* under Roth, who advised him to work on the *Gobhila-grihyasutra*. In 1882 in Dorpat University Knauer defended, in the form of a thesis, his edition and German translation of this relic. In 1884 he was teaching in Dorpat and was then invited to Kiev University. He worked for many years on the publication of most interesting and complicated relics of the ritual literature of the *Sutras*—the *Manava-grihyasutra* and *Manava-shrautasutra*. These publications, which first appeared in Russia, are most important aids for all Sanskrit scholars who are interested in the later Vedic texts and rituals. We have already mentioned the textbook of Sanskrit which he compiled together with Miller. Knauer also published another textbook of Sanskrit in Russian, which was published in Leipzig in 1908. The anthology appended to it contained ritual Sanskrit texts—the *shrauta* and *grihya*. Professors Alexei Barannikov, Boris Larin and Georgi Akhvlediani, future prominent Soviet Indologists and linguists, all studied under Knauer.

In the 1880s the Russian linguist, critic, literary historian and public figure Dmitry Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky (1853-1920) was working in the field of Vedic literature. He studied Sanskrit in Odessa under Yagich and for some time in St Petersburg under Minayev, and afterwards in Paris under A. Bergaigne. He also studied the *Avesta* in Europe, and later taught Sanskrit in Kharkov University. His first published monograph was a small work "An Investigation into the Vedic Myth of the Falcon Which Brought the Flower of Soma, in the Context of the Conception of Speech and Ecstasy". His views are expounded in fuller form in his book *A Study of Bacchanal Cults of Indo-European Antiquity in the Context of the Role of Ecstasy in the Early Stages of Social Development*; Vol. 1, *The Cult of the God Soma in Ancient India in the Vedic Age*, Odessa, 1884. This work is reminiscent of Miller's book both by its extensive comparisons of the cult of the Vedic god Soma with Iranian cults (*Haoma*) and the Greek cult of Dionysus, and as a critique of the views of leading representatives of the solar and meteorological schools in the study of mythology. In the opinion of the Russian scholar, one must in principle differentiate the cults connected with the deification of Nature, and the cults which are primarily social in origin. He considered that the cult of the Indian god Soma, which had an ecstatic character, belonged to the latter. He was interested in the socio-psychological significance of ecstatic cults. He attached enormous importance to religious ecstasy as to a "new, linking" element of man's early collective. He analysed the information from Vedic texts on the creation and performance of hymns and the use of the intoxicating drink soma. In his opinion the use of soma and the intoning of Vedic hymns were connected with one another, moreover, the ecstasy brought on by the use of soma, was passed on to the congregation by rhythmic chanting. Music, ritual action and the speech of the priest-singer form an indivisible unity. Speech in Vedic hymns, due to its rhythm, is like the flow of a liquid. Rhythmically organised speech had an unusually strong effect on the psyche of primitive man and stimulated his thinking and creativity. Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky seeks the beginnings of the subsequent religious mysticism and ecstasy in the primary religious ecstasy. In this soil, he maintained, over the course of centuries, grand mythological and religious and mystical systems are created. With the help of a linguistic analysis of the *Rigveda* hymns he hoped to discern peculiarities of archaic language and thinking. In elaborating this problem, his research was essentially similar to the investigations of French ethnologists of the time. General questions of the specifics of primitive man's thinking, his psychology, the connections between poetry, speech and ritual are still the subject of analysis in modern science.

Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky's next book, also published in Odessa in 1887, was entitled *On the History of the Cult of Fire among the Indians in the Vedic Age.* He distinguished three kinds of sacred fire in Vedic texts: *grihapati, vishpati* and *vaishvanara*. This division, in his opinion, had not come about on a purely mythological basis, but had sociological foundations: the first fire belonged to a separate household, the second to the village or community, the third to a union of allied communities. In his polemic with the prominent German Indologist and researcher of Vedic vocabulary, Hermann Grassman, the Russian Sanskrit scholar convincingly proved the correctness of his interpretation of *vish* as "community" (Grassman's interpretation was "home"). The general conclusion of that part of his work, which deals with the cult of the three sacred fires, amounts to the fact that the development of cults and religious concepts kept pace with the social development of the Aryans. His interest in sociology and the problem of the influence of the evolution of social institutions on religion is obviously connected with his social views and activity. In his youth he was an active member of socialist circles, studied the works of Karl Marx and his followers.

The second part of his monograph is a carefully compiled list of epithets for sacred fire in Vedic literature. He collected over 800 such epithets, accompanying them by accurate references, comparisons with Iranian material, etymological and mythological explanations. This extensive material provides an explanation of the importance, functions and attributes of sacred fire in Vedic religion and literature. His work was translated into French and published in Paris under the title: *Les Trois Feux Sacrés du Rig-Veda* (The Three Sacred Fires in the *Rigveda*).

Pavel Ritter (1872-1939), who graduated from the Slavonic-Russian Department of Kharkov University, was a pupil of Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky. His first work in the field of Sanskrit studies was an analysis of the hymns in the *Rigveda* devoted to the god Vishnu. He continued his education in Germany under the well-known expert on the *Rigveda* Karl Geldner. In addition to Sanskrit he studied Pali and Bengali. His scholarly interest was in the main concentrated on the study of classical Indian literature. As a report on his stay abroad he presented a translation of a part of Dandin's *Dashakumaracarita* and the article "Dandin and His Romance *The Adventures of Ten Youths*", published in 1898. In his description of Dandin, Ritter paid particular attention to his "frank realism". A complete translation of Dandin's romance was soon ready but was published only in Soviet times (the translation itself was made before Johann Jacob Meyer's German translation of 1903). Ritter conducted Sanskrit studies in Kharkov University, and his *Short Course of Sanskrit Grammar* appeared four times in pre-revolutionary years. He also translated Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* into Russian. After the Great October Socialist Revolution he published a Ukrainian translation of the *Meghaduta* and the *Shakuntala*, thus becoming the founder of a tradition of translations from Sanskrit into Ukrainian.

In the 1920s and 1930s Ritter took an active part in the organisation of Oriental studies in the Soviet Ukraine, published translations of classical Indian literature, put out articles and lectured. Particularly remarkable was his interest in modern Indian literature. He compiled and translated from Sanskrit, Pali and Bengali an anthology of Indian literature from the *Rig-*

*veda* to the Bengali poets of the 20th century. He found threads connecting, for example, the work of Rabindranath Tagore with ancient classical Indian poetry. In this direction he co-operated with other Soviet Indologists and literary critics (Academicians A. Barannikov and A. Beletsky). A certain continuity of scientific and pedagogical tradition was preserved in postrevolutionary years not only in Leningrad,* where Oldenburg, Shcherbatskoy and their pupils lived and worked, but also in Moscow, Kharkov, Kazan and a number of other university centres where Sanskrit and Indian culture were studied.

In 1883 I. Minayev replaced K. Kossovich and taught Sanskrit in St Petersburg University. After his death in 1890, studies were conducted by his pupil Oldenburg, and from 1900 by Shcherbatskoy. Courses in the Sanskrit language and literature were also conducted by Alexander Staël-Holstein for a number of years. Minayev's principles as an Indologist are clearly expressed in his speech "On the Study of India in Russian Universities" made in 1884. He said: "Scientific interest in the study of India for the Russian Orientalist is not exhausted by her past, whatever her importance in world history may have been. For us, in Rus, study of the East in general never had and never could have an abstract character. We are too close to the East to be interested in it only in the abstract. Russia's interests have always been closely connected with the East, and therefore among us Oriental studies cannot have failed to find a practical application." The tasks were thus defined differently than before. Minayev insisted that "the study of ancient India should not push into the background the scientific and practical importance of vital phenomena in contemporary India". He considered that for the Russian scholar "the East could not be a dead, exclusively bookish object of scientific inquisitiveness". Various causes obliged Orientalists to pay particular attention to the India of their day. Of significance was the fact that after the incorporation of Central Asia into Russia, the latter entered into direct contact with countries bordering on India. No less important were the rapid changes occurring in the Asian states. Minayev spoke of the rebirth of India—of "Young India" striving to free herself from British domination.

When in India, Minayev frequently heard from members of the Indian intelligentsia that they nourished the hope that Russia would help them in their struggle against Britain. The awakening of the East, he noted, was a remarkable fact of contemporary history. "The East has ceased to be a country where humanity is in deep slumber, and there are many urgent reasons for us to study it intently. The philologist, making a detailed study of Eastern countries in this way, is not, in essence, repudiating his highly scientific philological tasks. He takes a wider view of his tasks, and his researches, therefore, must be all the more fruitful..." To some extent Minayev seems to be continuing the line of Russian Sanskrit studies beginning with P. Petrov, who also had a lively interest in contemporary languages, literature and the historical destinies of India.

However, Minayev's progressive principles, consisting of the study of both ancient and new India, did not receive official support. The tsarist government took no steps to develop the study of the contemporary East. Oriental studies, in the eyes of official circles, belonged to the same category as the classical languages, an area of armchair science, far from the needs of the day. It is typical that before the October Revolution, in spite of frequent requests from leading specialists, modern Indian languages were not taught in Russian universities.

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* Before 18 (31) August 1914—St Petersburg, up to 26 January 1924—Petrograd.

One of Minayev's pupils in Sanskrit studies was Nikolai Mironov, whose most important publications were catalogues of Indian manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Museum and in the Russian Public Library. He also wrote a number of articles on the Vedic language and on Buddhism. His works were published in English, in both England and India.

Dmitry Kudryavsky (1867-1920) also studied at first in St Petersburg University under Minayev, and then continued his studies in Jena under Delbrück. From 1896 he taught Sanskrit and comparative linguistics in Yuriev (formerly Dorpat). Besides the general course in linguistics he prepared some special works on Sanskrit studies, a Sanskrit Reader with a vocabulary and review of grammar (1903), *A First Course in Sanskrit* (1917), and a translation of the *Hitopadesha*. Basically his scholarly works are devoted to ancient Indian texts on domestic rituals—the *Grihyasutras*. Studying ancient Indian ritual literature, Kudryavsky was continuing the traditions started by Schröder and Knauer. Special articles dealt with the *ashramas*—stages in the life of the Indians of ancient times, and the specific character of the *Grihyasutras* as a source of the history of ancient Indian cultural tradition.

Kudryavsky's monograph on the domestic rituals of ancient India contains an analysis of two rituals: the receiving of an honoured guest, and the *upanayana*. Translations of the corresponding parts of the Ashvalayana and Kaushika *Grihyasutras* are introduced in it. He analysed Sanskrit texts, comparing them with material relating to other Indo-European peoples (first and foremost with details from the poems of Homer). He gave a detailed description of rituals according to different Sanskrit texts. Following the contemporary tendency in the approach to the problems of comparative ethnology (in particular, the works of Moritz Winternitz) the author tried to define the methodology of scientific analysis. He analysed the essence of rites and social institutions in the context of ethnographic material on the life of tribes close to early man, and stated that the *ashrama* system was based on the age-group principle. (This system has survived, for example, among Australian aborigines.) His scientific activity is, on the whole, characterised by an interest in comparative ethnology and early history. His work on the history of early man, which was very popular and reissued several times, was written under the influence of Engels's book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

Important works on Buddhist studies were undertaken by the Russian Academy of Sciences. In 1897, on the initiative of Sergei Oldenburg, the publication of the series "Bibliotheca Buddhica. A Collection of Original and Translated Buddhist Texts" was begun. Its purpose was to assist the study of Northern Buddhism, at the time when the celebrated British specialist on Buddhism T. Rhys Davids and his colleagues were mainly investigating Southern Buddhism. Special attention to Northern Buddhism, a tradition of the Russian school of Buddhist studies, dates from the works of I. Minayev and V. Vasilyev. The "Bibliotheca Buddhica" was an international undertaking, uniting the efforts of leading specialists in a number of European and Asian countries. It should be noted that the Russian Academy of

Sciences maintained the closest relations with foreign Orientalists and especially with Indologists. As early as 1856 Radhakanta Deb became an honorary member of the Russian Academy. The leading scholar Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar was a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences from 1888, and was highly valued by Russian scholars.

At the XII (Rome) International Congress of Orientalists in 1899, the famous Russian scholars V. Radlov and S. Oldenburg proposed a plan to form an international association for the study of Central and Eastern Asia with the organising centre in St Petersburg. The proposal was adopted at the XIII Congress in Hamburg in 1903, and the Russian Committee of this association was formed. A number of scientific institutions such as the Academy of Sciences, the Oriental Languages Faculty of St Petersburg University, the Archaeological Commission, the Russian Geographical Society and others became its members. The Russian Committee issued a series of special publications. Characteristic of its activities was the interdiscipline approach, providing for the cooperation of historians, archaeologists, linguists and ethnographers. The study of Central and Eastern Asia became an important task of Russian Oriental studies, and the formation of an International Association with its centre in St Petersburg was an act recognising the contribution of Russian science in this field.

Beginning from 1890 Sanskrit manuscripts were found in Eastern Turkestan. The results of an expedition to this region of the well-known Russian scholar and traveller Dmitry Klementz were sensational, and they prompted a number of other states: Germany, France, Britain, Japan, to equip their own expeditions to Eastern Turkestan, which turned out to be very fruitful. It became possible for the Russian Committee to organise expeditions under the leadership of S. Oldenburg only in 1909-1910 to Turfan and in 1914-1915 to Tunhuang, and their scientific results were very significant. Material obtained by Oldenburg's expeditions is still being studied. Thanks to these expeditions the stock of *objets d'art* from Central Asia in the Hermitage and Central Asian manuscripts fund in the Institute of Oriental Studies were enlarged by rich collections.

A whole series of expeditions to Eastern Asia was organised at the beginning of the 20th century. A. Staël-Holstein (he was in India in 1903-1904) was one of Shcherbatskoy's closest fellow workers, who had made a study of Buddhism from Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese sources and published a number of works on Central Asian languages and the newly-discovered Tokharian language. Shcherbatskoy himself was in India in 1910-1911. Tsybikov, Baradiin and other scholars undertook journeys to Tibet. Not long before the First World War, Shcherbatskoy's young talented pupil Otto Rosenberg was sent to Japan to study Buddhism, and the Mervarts (Meerwarths), husband and wife, to India and Ceylon. It is worth giving a more detailed account of the latter expedition. Its immediate purpose was to make a collection of ethnographic material from the South Asian countries for the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St Petersburg. The Mervarts were to study the ethnography and mode of life in India and modern Indian languages. Special attention had to be given to Southern India, an exceptionally interesting field, and so far absolutely untouched in Russian science. It should be mentioned that in European science, too, at that time Indology was usually reduced to Sanskrit studies, and the contribution of the Dravidian peoples to the treasure-house of ancient Indian culture was underestimated.

To begin with the Mervarts lived for a long time in Ceylon, studying the Sinhalese and Tamil languages, social relations and rural customs. An important aspect of their work was the comparison of Buddhist doctrine, as taught in monasteries and as adhered to in the religious practices of the population. Afterwards the Russian Indologists spent more than two years in India, working in Madras and Travancore, Bangalore and Mysore, Kashmir and Lahore, Benares, Calcutta and Assam. With the support of Ananta Krishna Ayer they studied the ethnography of the Malabar coast. With the help of Subrahmaniam Ayer they made a translation of the remarkable relic of ancient Tamil poetry—the *Manimekhalai*. In Trivandrum they became acquainted with the eminent scholars Ganapati Shastri and Gopinatha Rao. Alexander Mervart translated into Russian the recently dicovered Sanskrit dramas of Bhasa, and also studied the *Kathakali*. This was the beginning of his big work on the history of the ancient folk theatre of India. The Mervarts studied the semantics of Kashmiri ornamentation, became acquainted with the objects of the Gandhara art, and made an interesting collection of Indian musical instruments. Alexander was elected to the membership of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and took an active part in its work, taught in a college in Calcutta, headed the ethnographic department of the Calcutta Museum and was invited to lecture on Sanskrit literature in Calcutta University. By the time they were to return to Russia the Mervarts had assembled an enormous collection of some 6,000 objects of Indian folk art and crafts, approximately 800 books and several thousand photographs. The return journey and the transportation of the collections in 1918 was an extremely complicated affair for the Civil War was raging in Russia. The scholars, having left tsarist Russia returned to what was already Soviet Russia. Due to the special aid rendered by the Soviet government they arrived in Petrograd in 1922. Their collections formed the basis of the Indian collection in the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. Both of them continued active work in the Soviet state, particularly on the study of the Indian theatre and the teaching of Dravidian languages.

At the turn of the century a broad interest in the literature, religion and philosophy of India was displayed. Many research works gained wide popularity as well as public recognition. The trend of interests and the evaluations of Indian culture were most varied. Russian philosophers were studying Indian philosophy. Russian translations of Rabindranath Tagore's poetry were frequently published and the Russian poets perceived in Tagore a poet close to them in spirit. The famous Russian poet Valery Bryusov wrote verse in imitation of Tagore and the classical Indian lyricist Amaru. The poet Konstantin Balmont translated Ashvaghosha and Kalidasa and also wrote an article analysing Kalidasa's works, and the famous Russian poet Innokenty Annensky studied Sanskrit under Minayev.

It is particularly important to mention the place occupied by India in the life and works of the great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy. In the 1880s, in connection with his religious and ethical striving he became interested in Buddhism. He specially addressed to Minayev questions on Buddhism, studied his book and subsequently met S. Oldenburg, too. The *Lalitavistara* made an enormous impression on him. In order to become more fully acquainted with Buddhism, Tolstoy read Burnouf's book, while the work of the German Indologist H. Oldenberg The *Buddha. His Life, Teaching and the Community*, from the recollections of contemporaries, was one of the few books he constantly turned to. He also liked the Indian fairy-tales published by Minayev, finding in them "marvellous things". Tolstoy included several Indian tales and episodes from Buddhist collections in his Readers for children, several of them he edited specially for the Russian reader. He concerned himself with the spread of knowledge about India in Russia and insistently recommended the publication of books about that country. His library contains several hundred works published in India and about India. In the last years of his life he was preparing to write a book on the Buddha and edited the work of his own follower, P. Boulanger, *The Life and Teachings of Sidhartha Gautama, Called the Buddha, i. e. the Enlightened One*, Moscow, 1911.

Tolstoy was also interested in Brahmanism, highly valued the *Bhagavadgita* and studied the philosophy of Shankara. Among modern Indian philosophers Ramakrishna aroused particular interest in him—"a remarkable sage", in Tolstoy's own words. He also found important ideas in the works of Swami Vivekananda and wanted to publish a Russian translation of Abhedananda's works. There was much that brought the great Russian writer close to the Indian philosophers, first and foremost humanism and the desire to give a synthesis of Eastern and Western philosophies. Tolstoy's works found a lively response in India and he corresponded with some outstanding Indian writers and journalists. The *Letter to a Hindu* of 1908 was widely known. The great son of India, Mahatma Gandhi, called himself a "follower of Leo Tolstoy". Gandhi's letters and a book he sent gave Tolstoy extreme pleasure.

The great Russian writer was not alone in his interest in India. In the 1890s literally every year there were numerous new Russian translations from both Indian literature and research books on India. The Russian translation of H. Oldenberg's book on Buddhism had five editions and there were also several editions of the books of Rhys Davids, Richard Pischel and Edwin Arnold. The works of such Indian philosophers as Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Abhedananda gained considerable popularity.

Russian translations of ancient Indian texts such as the *Manu Smriti*, Dhammapada, Bhagavadgita, Sutta Nipata, Ashvagosha's *Life of Buddha* and Kalidasa's dramas were printed. Many surveys and compilatory works on Indian history were also published. Translations of Indian literary works and books on India written by Western scholars were printed in the provinces as well as in the capital cities of St Petersburg and Moscow. The literature on India was also published in the languages of many nations and nationalities of Russia. The outstanding Ukrainian writers Ivan Franko and Lesya Ukrainka retold many Indian legends, and Indian tales and legends were also retold in Georgian and translated into it.

Wide public interest in Indian culture was aroused, which stimulated the activities of Indologists. At the same time it must be said that the attention given to Indian culture among the Russian intelligentsia of those days was somewhat one-sided and frequently superficial. There was also an obvious gap between academic scholarship and the requirements of the wide public. Interest in India was satisfied primarily by translated works and compilations made by non-specialists.

One should also mention another shortcoming of pre-revolutionary Russian Indology. It was only the ancient culture of India that was studied, her social and political history was usually ignored, and in the field of culture attention was concentrated primarily on Buddhism. In scientific research little attention was paid to contemporary India.

In spite of these shortcomings the Russian Indological school at the turn of the century acquired one of the leading places in world Indology. A respectful attitude towards the peoples of Asia and the acknowledgement of the enormous contribution of their ancient cultures to the treasurehouse of world civilisation were typical of such Russian Orientalists as F. Shcherbatskoy and S. Oldenburg. In their works a historical approach to the cultural heritage of ancient India was combined with the idea that the deep knowledge of the culture of the East was very important to modern man, and what is more, essential for him. They found in ancient Indian culture a deep humanistic content, and it was with great interest and sympathy that they regarded the "awakening of Asia".

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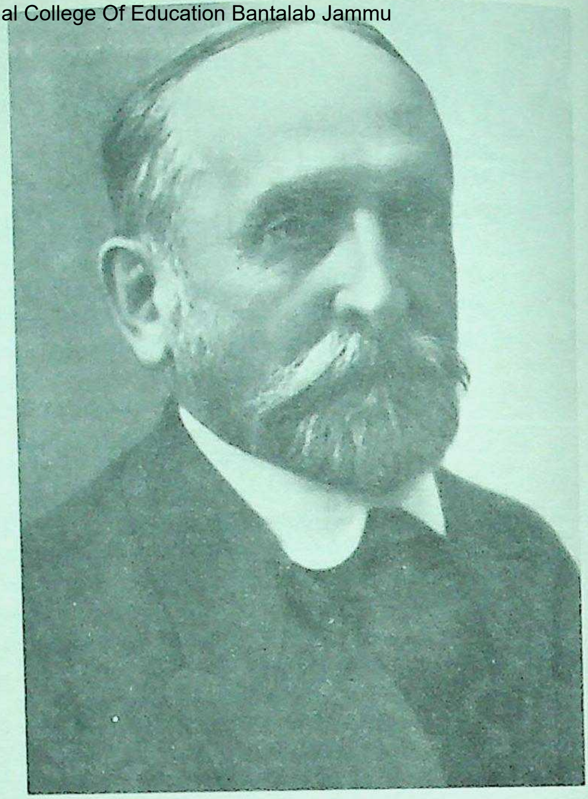
# Chapter III. Sergei Oldenburg, Outstanding Indologist and Prominent Organiser of Science

In the history of Russian and Soviet Indology the name of Academician Sergei Fyodorovich Oldenburg (1863-1934) occupies a special, very honourable place. His work clearly reflects the continuity of the older generation of Orientalists with the new generation of Orientalists. Grandiose perspectives were opened up for the development of Oriental studies by the Great October Socialist Revolution. This event, of universal historical significance, gave a qualitatively new impulse to the very approach to the study of the history and culture of the peoples of the East.

Oldenburg, of the old nobility in origin, son of a tsarist general, took his stand on the side of Soviet power and devoted all his talent as scholar and organiser to the development of his country's science. For 25 years (1904-1929) he was the Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences.

Oldenburg's activities as an Indologist, like those of his teacher Minayev, were diverse. He was a superb philologist, a folklorist, a leading authority on Buddhism, one of the first Russian specialists on the history of ancient India, an archaeologist, an expert in ancient Indian cultural relics from Central Asia, founder of the history of the country's Indological studies. He was distinguished by exceptional erudition and breadth of scholarly research. He always approached the study of Indian history and culture without tendentiousness, and had enormous respect for the Indian peoples, valuing their contribution to world civilisation very highly. He developed the best traditions of Russian Indology and in his works, lectures and speeches stood out against all signs of Europocentrism and arrogance, so characteristic of the works of the majority of West European scholars. Oldenburg saw, as no one else did, these shortcomings of West European Indology: he had a brilliant knowledge of the history of Indology, was personally acquainted with a whole galaxy of West European Indologists, wrote a series of pen-portraits of scholars, and also had a superb knowledge of the history of Russian Indology.

After graduating from St Petersburg University he lived from 1887 to 1889 in Paris, London and Cambridge, and therefore knew the condition and the specifics of the development of West European Indology. He maintained close scholarly relations with a number of West European Indologists for many years, but although valuing highly



**S. F. Oldenburg**

their contribution to Indology, he spoke out openly about the shortcomings of Western Oriental studies and set his own country's sholarship what were, in principle, new tasks. When he was in Western Europe he noted that Western Indology was characterised by "extreme individualism and almost complete lack of organisation". He explained the cause of these defects by an "insufficient closeness to life". Paying their due to the successes of the old Russian Oriental studies, Oldenburg at the same time stressed the difference in principle between the old Russian and the post-revolutionary Oriental studies. The first was characterised by the absence of planned character in researches. In the main it was a "small circle" of scholars who took part in the study of antiquity, whereas the new Oriental studies made the East as a whole, including the modern age, the object of research. "Together with the revolution the new Orientalist naturally had to appear," he wrote.

In a series of notes devoted to the life and works of Indologists, Oldenburg dwells on Bühler, Barth, Vallée Poussin, Kern, Lévi, Pischel, Foucher, Jacobi and also on Minayev and Vasilyev.

Reviewing the development of European Indology, starting from the 18th century, Oldenburg wrote that some scholars "considered, and still consider, that despite all the interest presented by the cultures of the East, there is no exact science in them, no scientific world outlook that distinguishes the cultures of the West. These Orientalists therefore have always attached little importance to Eastern scholarly tradition, to its understanding of the relics of Oriental creativity, contrasting it with the Western concept—as the only true one—based on what they consider to be the only reliable methods of research. Others considered, and consider, that every cultured nation, regardless of whether it is Western or Eastern, has its own understanding of its culture, and that anyone whose aim is to analyse scientifically a given culture is obliged to take it into account and, in many instances, even be guided by it." Sergei Oldenburg himself was undoubtedly a scholar of the "second type". Moreover, he constantly stressed the unity of the world-historical process and came out against the opposing of the West to the East. The following words of Oldenburg clearly reflect his position and could serve as an epigraph to his entire work as an Indologist: "With all the undoubted distinctions between East and West, the East built, and is still building, its spiritual life on just the same sources, common to all mankind, as the West, and lives by the same universal laws of historical development." He called for an objective study of the history and culture of the East, and criticised Western scholars for their tendentiousness. He considered that in the West one was carried away by the achievements of Western civilisation, and had a poor understanding of the East and was therefore blind to its great and surprising culture. Coming out against Europocentrism, he also opposed extreme nationalism, which was a feature of some Indian works on the history and culture of ancient India.

Oldenburg's interest in India was aroused very early in his life. In his childhood he read a great deal about the East and resolved to learn Sanskrit so that he could go to India and "get to know mankind's distant past". At university he received an excellent education in Oriental studies, learning the Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Chinese and Tibetan languages. While still at university he became convinced that "Indian culture is one of mankind's most remarkable cultures". He remembered his teachers with gratitude: the Indologist Minayev, the Arabist Rozen, the Sinologist and specialist on Buddhism V. Vasilyev, and the outstanding literary critic A. Veselovsky. In the obituary on the death of Vasilyev, Oldenburg wrote of his teachers "These were people who created the Oriental studies, who opened for scholarship a new, enormous field." Under the guidance of his mentors Oldenburg began to study the popular literature and folklore of India. Literary studies became one of the basic directions of his scholarly work as an Indologist and Orientalist. His approach to the study of Indian history and culture was largely innovatory. In Europe at the time the main object of research by Indologists was Indian classical Sanskrit literature. On one of his scientific trips abroad he devoted his main attention to the study of collections of Indian tales, to Indian folklore and Buddhist folk literature. Systematic work on manuscript collections gave Oldenburg the chance to master the difficult branch of Indology—palaeography; his first-class researches of Indian texts in *Brahmi* and *Kharoshthi* from Eastern Turkestan appeared later on. "Understanding all the importance of the original sources," he wrote, "in Paris and London I plunged avidly into the reading of manuscripts. This reading yields a great deal, both in the content of what is read and the acquisition of technical skills in getting to know handwritings, essential for understanding problems in the history of human writing, one of the most powerful weapons of culture." After his return to St Petersburg Oldenburg began writing one of his major works on Buddhist literature—*Buddhist Legends*, which he defended as his master's thesis in 1894. His aim was to provide a survey of Indian literature related to Buddhist legends (in Sanskrit, Prakrits and Pali). He only managed to publish the first part of his work, which included his study of the *Bhadrakalpavadana* and the *Jatakamala*. It is known that in the second part he planned to include the *Ashokavadanamala* and the *Vicitrakarnikavadana*. He began his work with the *Bhadrakalpavadana*, as the largest and oldest collection of Buddhist legends, but one that was little known in Indology. Manuscripts from the National Library in Paris and from the Asiatic Society of Bengal formed the basis of Oldenburg's work. Analysing the text he came to the conclusion that the collection had obviously taken shape in Nepal at the end of the 14th century, and had included "tales" from various Buddhist narrative works (from the *Divyavadana*, the *Jatakas* and the *Mahavastu*). A thorough knowledge of manuscripts and Buddhist literature as a whole enabled Oldenburg to introduce into scholarly circulation some new relics of "legendary" Buddhist literature. A special section of his book was devoted to the study of the Sanskrit *Jatakamala* by Arya Shura. For his publication Oldenburg made use of all the manuscripts of this work known at the time (three manuscripts which Kern had relied on in the first edition, and two new ones stored in St Petersburg). A brilliant master of the Pali language and literature, Oldenburg made a comparative study of Pali and Sanskrit *Jatakas*. Like his teacher Minayev, he devoted special attention to the *Jatakas*, considering that to them "in the literary sense, there belongs a particularly prominent place" in Buddhist legends. He succeeded in revealing many *Jataka* themes in the *Mahavastu* too, and found for them not only Buddhist but Jaina analogies as well. Oldenburg was one of the few scholars in world Indology who had brilliantly studied not only Sanskrit and Prakrit texts, but Tibetan and Chinese sources also. This enabled him to be the first to make use of Tibetan and Chinese translations of the *Jatakamala* for his study. The work on the *Jatakamala* begun by him was continued by other scholars. In the 1920s Academician A. Barannikov began to translate this work into Russian, and later on his pupil O. Volkova completed the work. In 1962 a Russian translation of *Jatakamala* appeared. In the 1960s O. Volkova and G. Bongard-Levin began research on the manuscript of another most interesting work, the *Ashokavadanamala*, which Oldenburg had been planning to deal with. They published and translated part of the text, devoted to legends of Kunala, who, according to tradition, was considered to be Ashoka's son. The authors gave a detailed description of the manuscript and showed its significance for the study of Buddhist literature and of the history of the Mauryas. Due to the great importance of this text, the text prepared by Bongard-Levin and Volkova was published in India (Calcutta, 1965) in the "Soviet Indological Series", edited by the prominent Indian scholar Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya. Studying Buddhist "fairy-tale" literature, Oldenburg came to the important conclusion that it was precisely the East that had influenced the emergence of Western tales and stories in the Middle Ages, but he opposed the suggestion made by the well-known German scholar Theodor Benfey of the Indian basis of this literature. Oldenburg was one of the first in world Indology to study the *Brihatkatha*, which afterwards formed the basis of many later tales, such as the works of Somadeva and Kshemendra. He made use of many new manuscripts for his research and for the first time pointed out the importance of Tibetan sources for understanding the history of the *Brihatkatha*. "It is high time to start collecting material which would provide an opportunity for the appearance of a complete and detailed study of the *Brihatkatha*," Oldenburg noted in 1888. And this behest has been successfully fulfilled by Soviet Indologists over recent decades. (Professor I. Serebryakov devoted a series of researches to the study of the *Brihatkatha* and later collections, based on it; see Chapter V.) After the publication of his book *Buddhist Legends* Oldenburg continued to study Buddhist folk literature, and these problems led him to the study of Buddhist art and Buddhism in general.

In his article "Buddhist Legends and Buddhism" (1896), he came to the conclusion about the difference between the "spirit" of legendary compositions and stories and the religious doctrines of Buddhism. "Buddhist legends," Oldenburg wrote, "when constantly compared with Buddhist doctrines, show us clearly how Buddhism, seeking to struggle against Brahman clericalism and ritual, very quickly went over to what it was fighting, and created a church which inevitably bound it up with ritual." This conclusion revealed the essence of the transformation undergone by Buddhism, beginning with the period of its origin and ending with the *Mahayana*, when ritual, so uncharacteristic of the initial teaching, came to the fore with unprecedented force. At the same time Oldenburg highly valued Buddhist tales as a historical source for the study of the spiritual life of ancient Indian society. "Legends attain special importance for the historian of religion; he sees in them not merely works of narrative literature, but also works of spiritual literature in which the religious, mystical and ethical ideals of the people are expressed, works into which they introduced their explanations and interpretations of religious doctrines and dogmas." He tried to approach the analysis of literary relics from the standpoint of a historian and sociologist. A consistent historical method was characteristic of his work, including that of literary criticism, and all cultural phenomena held for him not an abstract interest but were examined in connection with the general course of historical development. In his work *A Collection of Sinhalese Tales. On Methods of Collecting, Recording and Publishing Tales* (1931), he emphasised the importance of tales, and in particular, of a collection *Kathasaritsagara* for the study of social history. "Perhaps," he wrote, "the tale can give us a better picture of the class struggle in all its complicated forms than any other kind of literature." When studying Buddhist literature he also consistently followed the principles of the historical method. He had a large number of works and won international recognition as a great authority in this field. In his work *Notes on Buddhist Art* he analysed sculptural and mural representations based on Buddhist *Jataka* motifs and raised the very important question of the connection of Buddhist art with the general cultural process: for the historian specific monuments of art are not so much important in themselves but first and foremost as a reflection of general processes in cultural development. Having a brilliant knowledge of ancient literary sources, Oldenburg in his writings about art constantly brought forth parallels from written tradition: he compared Bharhut reliefs with the *Jatakas* and established that the Bharhut sculpture reflected folklore tradition; he examined the Ajanta frescoes in the context of epigraphic evidence, the data of the *Avadanas* and the Ceylonese chronicles (*Mahavamsa*); he studied Khotan bronzes (in the collection of N. Petrovsky) in the framework of material from Buddhist and Hindu literature. He rendered a great service when he correctly interpreted scenes from the legend of king Ashoka in the Gandhara frieze preserved in the Indian Museum in Calcutta; in order to disclose the idea of this composition he referred to the Buddhist tales of the *Divyavadana*. He was the first to introduce into scholarly circulation valuable relics of Buddhist art from Russian collections (*Material on Buddhist Iconography*, St. Petersburg, 1901, and *An Album of Buddhist Representations from the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy*, St. Petersburg, 1903). Highly appraising Buddhist art, Oldenburg firmly opposed its laudation beyond all measure. After the discovery of Buddhist monuments at the end of the 19th century many West European scholars began to exaggerate the antiquity of Buddhist art, regarding it as the forerunner of ancient Indian art as a whole, and to contrast the history of its origins with Brahmanical art (this position was most consistently set forth by the German scholar Albert Grünwedel in his work *Buddhist Art in India*, Berlin, 1900). In a speech made at a session of the Historico-Philological Branch of the Academy of Sciences in 1901, Oldenburg sharply criticised such theories and expressed general remarks on the origin and development of Indian art. Contrary to Grünwedel, he came to the conclusion that Buddhist art had its roots in ancient Indian art traditions including Brahmanical tradition. This, according to him, in no way lessened the enormous role of Buddhism as a world religion and as bearer of many features of ancient Indian civilisation beyond the bounds of India. At the same time he considered Buddhism as one of the Indian religions, and did not contrast it with the whole course of development of Indian culture. Oldenburg strongly opposed the point of view that Indian art originated only during the rule of king Ashoka. Polemics on this score continue to the present day, and particularly actively among Indian scholars. It is revealing to note that the arguments put forward by the Russian scholar have not lost their topicality even today, and, moreover, have actually found confirmation in new material.

"The high degree of development we find in the monuments of Ashoka's times and the predominance in them, evidently, of truly national elements, induce us to ascribe the beginnings of Indian art to a date at least several centuries before that period," wrote Oldenburg. He bound the oldest monuments of ancient Indian art with the Vedic age, believing that the art of that time grew up on the soil of Aryan and non-Aryan local traditions. In his opinion the beginnings of Buddhist and Jaina art go back to these sources (he set out these thoughts long before the discovery of monuments of Harappan civilisation, and later on introduced considerable corrections into his periodisation). In this connection he made a detailed analysis of such a well-known Buddhist monument of art as Bharhut and came to the conclusion that material from Bharhut clearly showed how widely Buddhism had, from very early times, drawn on the common Indian cultural tradition.

Opposing the tendentious views of West European scholars on the development of Indian art, Oldenburg evaluated the achievements of Indian scholars very highly. Thus he spoke with great respect of the works of the well-known Indian art researcher Ananda Coomaraswamy. In his review of Coomaraswamy's work *An Introduction to Indian Art* (1923), he wrote: "To Ananda Coomaraswamy belongs the great merit of having aroused a widespread interest in Indian art. His numerous elegant publications, the abundance of new material published by him, the exceptional enthusiasm with which he works, his rare ability to awaken interest in his subject, have justly placed him in the front ranks of new researchers in Indian art."

At the same time he criticised some of Coomaraswamy's views, his thesis on the exclusively religious character of Indian art and its anonymity. Neither did Oldenburg agree with the Indian scholar's point of view about Indian civilisation's exclusiveness. He emphasised that India was not only a contributing factor but also a receiving one, that is, she was subject to the cultural impact of other ancient cultures. Moreover, he saw in Indian art, and in Buddhist art in particular, a source common to all mankind and pointed to its connection with the world-historical process. "The more we study Indian art," he wrote, "the more convinced we become that its nature is common to all mankind, and that the laws of its development remind us of the development of art in other countries." He stressed that "a scrutiny of Buddhist monuments shows us that Buddhism was always close to popular cults and submitted to the general laws of the rise and fall of all religions."

He was one of the first scholars in world Indology to pay special attention to the need for, and the importance of, a deep study of Gandhara art. He first put forward this problem in his works at the beginning of the 20th century, and afterwards referred to it frequently over subsequent decades. The fact is that the finds of monuments of Gandhara art evoked sharp discussion among scholars, in the course of which general questions on the origin of Indian art were also dealt with. At that period the majority of scholars held that Gandhara art was a provincial variant of Graeco-Roman art, and the influence of India and her cultural traditions was either underestimated or completely rejected. Such an approach was characteristic of some West European scholars. Oldenburg criticised Grünwedel for exaggerating the degree of influence of Hellenistic and Roman art on Indian art. He wrote that if one were to adhere to that position then "Indian art loses practically all its independence and becomes simply an offshoot of Hellenistic art". The same shortcoming was inherent in the works of Coomaraswamy, who did not submit Gandhara monuments to scientific analysis, considering them to be not Indian but Hellenistic in character. Moreover, the Indian scholar denied the influence of Gandhara art on India. Criticising such views, Oldenburg emphasised the great role of the Gandhara school in the history not only of Indian art, but also the cultures of Nepal, Tibet, East Turkestan, Central and South-East Asia. Outlining the tasks for the study of monuments of Buddhist art, he pointed out the need for publicising monuments of Gandhara art. He appealed to scholars to pay special attention to these materials in view of their enormous significance. A genuinely scientific study of Gandhara art, which has taken on such wide scope at the present time, only just started at the beginning of the 20th century, and Oldenburg's appeal was very timely and forward-looking. "The abundant relics of Gandhara art," he wrote in 1901, "are still awaiting preliminary sorting, in order to yield all they can on the history of Indian art."

At that time Oldenburg was planning a wide programme of research into Indian art: along with the Gandhara relics he called for republication in systematic form of pictures of sculpture and friezes together with epigraphic material which was "very important for chronological definitions"; he pointed to the necessity of publishing together with inscriptions pictures of post- and non-Gandhara relics from Indian museums, and also Jaina relics "because they are often close to the Buddhist and explain them". "Next in turn come Nepalese and Bengali miniatures," he noted.

Oldenburg was well aware of the importance of archaeological investigations and for this reason appealed to Indian scholars to conduct archaeological excavations on a wider scale. "Only when systematic excavations are made on the site of ancient Indian towns and sanctuaries will the study of Indian art stand on firm ground," he used to say. He frequently returned to these problems in his later works as well but introduced new accents. His work *Modern Organisation of the Study of the Fine Arts and Their Technique in India* (1931) presents special interest. He directly associated the question of the methods and prospects of the study of Indian art with the plan of work for the Academy of Sciences, attaching great importance to these issues. Oldenburg divided the history of Indian art into periods, and it is notable that he singled out as the first stage the age of Harappan civilisation. In fact, he was one of the first scholars in the world, and the first in Russian Indology, to estimate at its true worth the enormous importance of the excavations of the archaeologists in the Indus valley for the reconstruction of the historical and cultural development of the peoples of India. Pointing out the inadequacy of material from the pre-Mauryan period, Oldenburg likewise emphasised the necessity for systematic excavation of relics of the 6th-4th centuries B.C. in order to trace the creation of ancient Indian culture consecutively.

He also dealt with the problem of the origins of Indian art and made a detailed examination of new works by John Marshall and Vincent Smith. He firmly opposed the fashionable theory of his day of the non-Indian roots of ancient Indian art of the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. and insisted that British historians' concepts be revised. In his opinion relics of the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. were "comparatively late links in the long chain of Indian social and cultural development". The historical method, that was characteristic of Oldenburg's creative work, reveals itself most vividly in his works of this period. He was one of the first in Russian Indology to pay attention to the problems of the social and economic structure of ancient India and to try to connect the history of culture with the general process of social development. "The absence of a correct sociological approach," he wrote, "interferes, to this day, with a true ascertaining of the course of development of Indian art." Proceeding from data in the *Arthashastra*, in Panini's work and the *Jatakas*, he came to the conclusion that there was a rather well-developed urban culture in ancient India, and there existed a considerable number of small industries and handicrafts. Monuments of Buddhist art interested him not simply as artistic and religious works but also as a source of understanding the phenomena of public life. "Monuments of Buddhist material culture, explained in an appropriate manner, provide us with rich knowledge for the elucidation of this deeply social context of religion, and naturally, not only Buddhism. We see how, essentially, social conditions have a powerful influence on religion, no matter what abstract heights it strove, it would seem, to get away to."

Oldenburg firmly opposed the opinion, widespread in the West, of the all-embracing spiritualistic nature of Indian culture. Some Indian scholars shared this view, striving to show not so much the general historical features in the development of Indian society as the uniqueness of Indian culture, its specific spiritual nature. Oldenburg, in his approach, expressed genuine scholarly and objective viewpoints: while emphasising the important role of religion in the life of ancient Indian society, he at the same time approached ancient India in the context of the general laws of historical development. "It is high time," he wrote, "to put an end to the legend that India is specifically, as it were, a purely religious country: there is, of course, no doubt that in this field India showed enormous creativity, but it is equally beyond question that Indians, like other peoples, had a complex social pattern, that her agriculture in the countryside, the crafts and industry and the trade of her towns had an enormous importance in India's life, no less than in other countries, and that without a knowledge and understanding of her economic life we shall never understand India and her complex history." In this connection Oldenburg paid particular attention to epigraphy and material of the *Shastras*. In his interpretation of the Ashoka inscriptions he stressed their value as "proclamation" addressed to broad strata of the population, and in the inscriptions from the first centuries A.D. he found rich material on the history of the transition to the early feudal period. He examined land grant documents, and translated a number of the South Indian inscriptions. He stressed the importance of these documents for the study of the social and economic structure of ancient India; he called for compilation of the technical terminology of Indian documents in "successive development and in various parts of India". Such materials, in his opinion, were a "rich source for the history of the economy and the class struggle in India". He was one of the first in Russian Indology to indicate the importance of the *Arthashastra* for reconstructing social and economic relations in ancient India. On his initiative, in 1930, a Russian translation of the *Arthashastra* was begun in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences (at that time he was at its head). A special group was set up under the guidance of F. Shcherbatskoy, and as early as 1932 the basic part of the translation had been completed, Oldenburg himself having translated the first book of the treatise.

The Institute's plan included the compilation of a glossary of political, administrative and economic terminology of the *Arthashastra*. Attaching great importance to the elaboration of problems of the social and economic development of ancient and medieval India, he closely followed the works of Indian scholars in this field and wrote reviews of them. He valued the contribution of Indian scholarship to the analysing of these problems and stressed that "a number of questions, specifically on the country's economy and history, could be investigated in India and specifically by Indian scholars".

Oldenburg is also associated with such an international undertaking as the "Bibliotheca Buddhica". In the words of Shcherbatskoy the accomplishment of this publication "was entirely due to his initiative and concern". It was begun as far back as 1897 and had as its aim the issue of original and translated Buddhist writings connected with Northern Buddhism, and was in fact entitled: *A Collection of Original and Translated Buddhist Texts*. Oldenburg followed the tradition of his teachers–Minayev and Vasilyev, but gave the idea an international character. Leading world specialists in Buddhist studies took part in the "Bibliotheca Buddhica": Cecil Bendall, Louis Finot, J. S. Speyer, Louis de la Valleé Poussin, Hendrik Kern, Bunju Nanjio. As opposed to the defenders of the Southern, Pali tradition (Rhys Davids for example) the Russian school of Buddhist studies attached particular importance to Sanskrit Buddhist literature which "lay at the base of all-Asian Buddhism". "The study of all-Asian Buddhism constitutes one of the most vital tasks of Indology". The "Bibliotheca Buddhica", created on Oldenburg's initiative, brought well-deserved fame to Russian Buddhist studies, and greatly strengthened their international prestige. As early as 1927 Oldenburg, Shcherbatskoy and Tubyansky with good reason stated: "On the strength of all its achievements Russian Buddhist studies must, in all fairness, be considered first in the ranks of European Buddhist studies".

The study of Central Asia (and Eastern Turkestan in particular), of Buddhist texts and art relics of this region occupy a special place in Oldenburg's scientific legacy. In this field of Oriental studies Oldenburg was one of the founders of new branches–Central Asian philology and palaeography. Scientific expeditions to Eastern Turkestan, led by Oldenburg, became a landmark in the history of world Indology and Buddhist studies. Thanks to his efforts there was formed in the Asian Museum of the USSR Academy of Sciences (now the Institute of Oriental Studies) a large and unique collection of Central Asian manuscripts.

The end of the 19th and the early 20th century had been marked by important, from the scientific viewpoint, and sensational discoveries in Central Asia. In the sands of Khotan and the caves of Western Gan-su, were found remarkable specimens of art, numerous manuscripts and items of material culture. One of the first to note the significance of Eastern Turkestan as to its wealth of historical and cultural material and the need for it to be studied, was the remarkable Russian traveller Nikolai Przhevalsky. The brothers Grumm-Grzhimailo also made important trips to Eastern Turkestan and described the ancient relics of this region. However, by far the largest contribution among Russian scholars to the study of Central Asian relics was made by Oldenburg and the Russian Consul in Kashgar N. Petrovsky. The latter not only travelled over the region and did everything he could to assist the development of archaeological and ethnographic research there, but grudged neither time nor energy in the search for ancient written records. In his letters to Oldenburg he persistently advised him to begin an extensive study of the ancient written heritage of India in Central Asia. At the end of the 1880s he had already sent Oldenburg one sheet of a manuscript in Brahmi. This marked the beginning of the creation of the Central Asian Manuscript Fund of the Asiatic Museum. In 1892 Oldenburg published the facsimile and transliteration of the text and noted that it was not in Sanskrit. It was later established that this was the Saka-Khotanese language. He understood what enormous scientific riches were to be found in Central Asia and what perspectives for the development of Indology and Buddhist studies the excavations of relics in this region might open up. In 1891 he asked Petrovsky if there was more detailed information about antiquities in Kucha and other parts of Kashgar and whether a scientific expedition should be sent there. He knew that there might be difficulties on the way to the fulfilment of these plans. In his reply Petrovsky wrote that "Buddhist relics exist in the whole of Eastern Turkestan". "I very much doubt," he continued, "that the local authorities would allow an expedition to carry on excavations." Nevertheless Oldenburg did not give up his idea. He published the texts sent to him by Petrovsky, pointing out the enormous importance of Turkestan relics, and in this way drew the attention of foreign scholars to these finds.

Over the autumn and winter of 1892-1893 Petrovsky sent him over 100 leaves and fragments of manuscipts from Kucha, Kurma and Aksu, written in a Central Asian version of Brahmi. Oldenburg began systematic publication of these texts, providing facsimiles and Latin transliteration. He was only able to identify a few of these fragments at that time (basically they were *dharani*). "Kashgaria," he wrote, "is destined to have great importance for Sanskrit studies". In 1897 he published a facsimile and transliteration of one leaf of a manuscript written in *Kharoshthi* from Kashgar, which contained the text of the *Dhammapada* in Prakrit. He dated the text (1st century A.D.) and correctly determined the language as Prakrit, close to the language of Ashoka's inscriptions from Shahbazgarhi, and outlined the approximate region from which the text originated as Gandhara. The publication of this work was significant in the development of Buddhist textual studies and brought Sergei Oldenburg well-deserved fame in world scholarship. His efforts directed towards the archaeological study of Central Asia were finally crowned with success. In 1898 an expedition, equipped by the East Siberian Department of the Russian Geographical Society under D. Klementz, visited Turfan and discovered rich relics of Indian culture there. Klementz brought back with him several fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts. Summing up the results of the expedition, Oldenburg wrote that many frescoes with inscriptions in Central Asian Brahmi had been found in the environs of Turfan. He planned new expeditions but Russian scholars did not succeed in carrying them out at that time. He approached the government with a proposal to equip an expedition to Turkestan but was turned down. In 1899, at the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome, Academician V. Radlov read a paper on the finds in Turkestan. His paper aroused such enormous interest that special committees for archaeological researches in Eastern Turkestan were set up in many European countries. Several European expeditions visited Central Asia before Oldenburg was able at last to realise his dream and set out in 1909. The expedition was financed by the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia. When Oldenburg arrived in Eastern Turkestan, it turned out that many European expeditions had already studied this region, and in Shcherbatskoy's words, "literally devastated the region in the archaeological respect". Many unique manuscripts were taken away to Western Europe and it cost Oldenburg enormous effort to get some Sanskrit fragments. On his return to St Petersburg he reported to the Russian Committee on the work of the expedition and the written and art relics he had acquired. Once again he drew the attention of Russia's scholars to the need for large-scale exploration in Central Asia. Later on Shcherbatskoy wrote of Oldenburg's activity in the study of Central Asia: "Since there was such a rich region near Russia, and it had been discovered by a Russian expedition, and we had had at that time a scientific Indology, upon whom, if not upon Russian Indologists, should there fall the obligation and the honour to study it." In 1914 Oldenburg published a short account of the Russian Turkestan expedition of 1909-1910, giving a detailed summary of all the monuments of Buddhist culture, including a description of caves, sculptures, painting, etc.

Oldenburg's second expedition (1914-1915) was a brilliant success, the Caves of a Thousand Buddhas were studied and many Sanskrit manuscripts found.

Judging by his correspondence with Petrovsky, Oldenburg's plans for further study of Central Asian culture were very extensive. He intended to prepare a special work on the palaeography of Central Asian texts, give a complete genetic table of all script variants, and publish, with a research study, transliteration and translation, Petrovsky's entire collection, but unfortunately these plans were not destined to be fulfilled. His colleagues continued the work he had begun, and after them a new generation of Soviet Indologists carried on.

Nevertheless, what Oldenburg had managed to do in Central Asian research had enormous scientific importance. The finds of written relics of Indian culture and archaeological study showed that starting at the least in the 1st century A.D. right up to the 10th-11th centuries, this whole region had been under strong influence of Indo-Buddhist culture. And when Buddhism, as is known, no longer played a leading role in India it was precisely in Central Asia that Indo-Buddhist culture preserved its traditions and continued to develop. Evaluating the importance of Indo-Buddhist culture, Oldenburg, together with his colleagues Shcherbatskoy and Tubyansky, wrote in 1927: "For a vast territory Indo-Buddhist culture signifies much the same as ancient Mediterranean culture does for Europe... The study of Indo-Buddhist culture of Central and Eastern Asia is one of the most important and interesting fields in the world history of culture."

A characteristic feature of Oldenburg's works was his civic spirit, a belief in the inexhaustible possibilities of the Eastern nations. This distinguished him from those armchair scientists who could not, and did not want to, go beyond the narrow bounds of their subject. While still quite young, on a scholarly trip in France, where he became acquainted with Oriental studies there, he reflected on enlarging the range of Oriental studies in Russia, and noted the enormous significance for Russia of studying the East. In 1898 he wrote: "Foremost today is the practical study of the East, which must be of assistance when fulfilling all those new tasks that fell to the lot of Russia... Russia, perhaps more than any other country, needs also a theoretical knowledge of the East." He remarked with regret that Oriental studies in Russia had not yet acquired the necessary scope, and cherished hopes for the extension of these studies. But this was destined to be realised only after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Oldenburg was one of the first Russian scholars of the old academic school who accepted the October Revolution and set about transforming the Academy, all the scientific and educational work of the young Soviet Republic, to meet the needs of socialist construction. As Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, Oldenburg assisted in the rapid restructuring of scientific research, and by his authority, experience and knowledge helped in the building of the new system of scientific activities. This position of his was most significant especially if one takes into account the fact that many of the old scientific personnel could not immediately appreciate the full importance of the changes in the country, and found it difficult to adapt themselves to the new life. From the very first days after the October Revolution the Soviet Government, and Lenin personally, directed attention to the development of Soviet science, and Lenin's instructions on the necessity of drawing the scientific establishments of Russia into the building of socialism played an enormous part in this truly revolutionary process. This approach to science, to the values of scientific creativity, to the close ties of scientists with the demands of life contrasted sharply with the attitude of the tsarist government towards the Academy, which it regarded as no more than "a scientific adornment" of the empire. "The tsarist government," Oldenburg wrote, "behaved with distrust towards science and its specialists, leaving them, in the majority of cases, to occupy themselves with questions that had no relation whatsoever to state construction." Immediately after the revolution scholars were able to appreciate, on its merits, how the previous indifference and opposition to the endeavours of scientists had been replaced by assistance and genuine support and interest. Documents from the first post-revolution years, the reminiscences of political and public figures and scientists enable us to re-create the atmosphere of that stormy period, when the wise policy of the Soviet Government helped the Academy to set out along the path of transformation and take an active part in the grandiose tasks of socialist construction.

After the revolution Oldenburg, like many other eminent scholars, took an active part in the reconstruction of the Academy. In January 1918 a general meeting of the Academy discussed the question of scientific work in connection with the new state tasks. A special commission was set up under Oldenburg to study the possibilities of bringing these projects to fruition. In February 1918 the commission adopted a resolution, which became exceptionally important in the mobilisation of scientific forces for the needs of state construction: "The Academy of Sciences believes that life itself dictates a considerable proportion of the tasks, and the Academy is always ready, when required by life and the state, to do all in its power for the scientific and theoretical elaboration of specific tasks brought forth by the needs of state construction, and in doing so to act as the organising centre drawing in the scientific forces of the country."

Oldenburg's meeting with Lenin in 1918 was of great importance. In spite of the difficult times for the young Soviet Republic the leader of the revolution and head of the Soviet state took a lively interest in scientific research, including Indological research, and called upon scientists to become closer to the masses, tell them about their scientific projects and creative ideas. In a talk with Oldenburg, Lenin said: "Well, there's your subject. It seems far away. Yet it is close... Go to the masses, to the workers, and tell them about the history of India, about the age-old sufferings of the vast masses, enslaved and oppressed by the British, and you will be surprised by the response of our proletarian masses. And you yourself will draw inspiration from it for new research, new work and study of great scientific importance." According to his contemporaries, Oldenburg said of Lenin: "He is a prophet of tremendous strength... He is called 'to set alight the hearts of people with the word'." Lenin's deep foresight, his exceptional attention to science in those alarming and difficult years for the fortunes of Russia, are startling. The Civil War was in progress, foreign imperialists together with internal counter-revolutionaries were trying to destroy the young Soviet Republic and restore the power of the landlords and the capitalists. All efforts were thrown into defence of the Soviet state. Lenin addressed the nation with the appeal "The Fatherland is in danger". But even then he found the time to meet with representatives of science and the arts, had faith in the enormous potentialities of science's future in Russia,and thought about the enlarging of scientific research.

The Soviet Government, headed by Lenin, gave the Academy financial assistance and concerned itself with the life of scientists. Scientific projects connected with Indology were being implemented at this time. Thus, in 1918, the Department of History and Philology, in response to Oldenburg's announcement of the support of the Council of People's Commissars for scientific works, resolved to render assistance to the ethnographic expeditions sent to India in 1914. A most interesting document, preserved in the archives of the USSR Academy of Sciences, bears witness to the fact that on April 9, 1918, Oldenburg, on the instructions of the Council of People's Commissars and its Chairman V. I. Lenin, was visited by the secretary of the Council of People's Commissars and he announced that the Council of People's Commissars "considers the widest possible development of the scientific undertakings of the Academy to be very desirable and invites the Academy to inform the Council of People's Commissars of any proposals it may have for expeditions, undertakings and publications so that they be given the earliest assistance. "Oldenburg was involved in the solution of the tasks of scientific construction formulated on Lenin's proposal. As Permanent Secretary of the Academy, Oldenburg was in the very thick of events and took an interest in the development not only of Oriental studies but also of all the social sciences, assisted in the development of geology, power engineering, industrial chemistry, physics and other branches of science.

In Petrograd in 1919 the first Buddhist exhibition opened. Its sponsors–Oldenburg and his colleagues, were well aware that the exhibition was being organised when conditions were exceptionally difficult, but they strove to give it great importance, and to arouse an interest in India, her ancient culture and history, and in the East generally. In the catalogue prepared for the opening of the exhibition, Oldenburg wrote: "For mankind today, which, though as yet weakly and unskilfully, is seeking for the brotherhood of nations, it is essential to know as much as possible of what has already been done by mankind in this respect, and therefore the study and understanding of the Buddhist world, which this present exhibition should help us in, has such great importance for us." Academicians Oldenburg, Vladimirtsov and Shcherbatskoy gave public lectures at the exhibition, emphasising the importance of studying India and Buddhism, and appealing for an in-depth study of the legacy of Indian culture.

The exhibition was a huge success. Oldenburg's words, written for the exhibition, are significant: "Nowhere in the world, in all probability, can there have been a people who sought with such effort and intensity to find answers to questions of life and death, of the purpose and meaning of life, as in India, far distant from us, yet inhabited mainly by peoples related to us, whose languages and many of whose customs are in many respects close to us." Oldenburg stressed the wisdom of the Indian people, the closeness of Indian culture to Russian culture, a topic which had not lost its relevance even in those difficult times. However, the scholar's thoughts were directed not to the distant past, but to the future. "The history of India," Oldenburg wrote, "is exceptionally important for understanding the history of mankind as a whole, and this history is essential to us for a proper understanding of reality."

Objects of Buddhist art from India, Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan, assembled in Russia's museums, were on display at the exhibition. "All Buddhist objects are objects belonging to a single faith," Oldenburg wrote. "A faith, moreover, that comes from one source–India." The exhibition included many antiquities brought to Russia by Russian travellers and scholars from Asian countries. Relics brought back by scientific expeditions led by Oldenburg himself had great scientific importance. Murals from the Tun-huang cave show, in his words, how much "China drew from India through Buddhism". And once again the main idea stands out clearly: acquaint the masses with the great culture of the East, with the masterpieces of world civilisation and arouse their interest in the nations of Asia.

In spite of the diversity of subject, the centre of attention in the exhibition was India—it was the traditional interest of Russian scholarship in India making itself felt.

In 1919, one of the most difficult years of the Civil War, the outstanding Soviet writer Maxim Gorky organised the Vsemirnaya Literatura (World Literature) Publishing House, with the aim of putting out the masterpieces of both Western and Oriental literatures in Russian. The Oriental Section of the Publishing House was headed by S. Oldenburg, who, in particular, planned to put out the most significant works of ancient and modern Indian literature.

In January 1921, Oldenburg, together with a group of academicians, was received by Lenin. Maxim Gorky was present at this meeting. The scholars and the leader of the Soviet state discussed many important problems connected with the further development of science: international scientific ties of the Academy of Sciences, publications, exchange of literature, and the improvement of living conditions for scholars. In spite of his enormous load of work, Lenin told the scientists to come to him with all questions that worried them. Recalling this meeting, Oldenburg wrote: "Vladimir Ilyich questioned us in detail about various immediate works, and it was clear that this man, on whose shoulders lay the burden of such gigantic construction, found the time to think about and remember the work of individual scholars, to which he attached particular importance. And, listening to Vladimir Ilyich, we knew that, true to his working and organisational rule always to check that his directions had been carried out, he was sure to take measures to ascertain what had been done and what had not yet been done and why it had not been done. This meeting of ours—of Lenin and the representatives of Soviet science—will always remain memorable in the history of Soviet science: thanks to the personal involvement of Vladimir Ilyich the years 1920 and 1921 were a turning-point in the history of our Soviet science."

Speaking at the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets on January 31, 1924, which took place after the death of the great leader, Oldenburg said: "All the great thoughts, all the great things he did will remain, they are not subject to death, and as long as future generations live all this shall remain with them... We experience a feeling of strength, of vigorous strength, and we understand how great was the life lived by such a great man... He truly possessed the capacity of a genius. This great man passed through our whole life, that of both old and young, and therefore in the consciousness of every one of us life became richer, clearer, stronger, for that life which creates such great people is a truly strong, mighty and beautiful life."

Oldenburg was the initiator of a large number of scientific projects, including some in Oriental studies. Bound up with Oldenburg is the development of Soviet Oriental studies, of Soviet Indology. He was the first Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences (from 1930) and occupied this post to the end of his life. Thanks to his efforts the work of Oriental studies was reconstructed in conformity with the general development of Soviet science, in accordance with the practical tasks of economic and cultural construction in the Central Asian and other republics of the USSR as well as the tasks connected with the implementation of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Together with F. Shcherbatskoy and M. Tubyansky Oldenburg put forward the idea of organising an Institute for the study of Buddhist culture. In an explanatory note to the plan for establishing the Institute under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences, they wrote: "The general development of research work in the East faces our Buddhist studies with a wide range of tasks in reviewing, assessing and utilising new material, along with the old material, and demands concentrated attention to topical work in the multi-lingual East and the cementing of ties with its scientific workers and institutions. To preserve, consolidate and expand the positions already reached, to preserve the leading role of Soviet Buddhist studies, it is essential to unite scholars and resources in a scientific institution having as its aim a stricter and more systematic organisation of its work and the setting up and development of links with contemporary scholarly work in Buddhist studies in the East."

Oldenburg was one of the first Soviet Orientalists to recognise the exceptional importance of studying the modern East, the need to expand traditional Indology—in this he saw the future of Soviet Oriental studies. He passionately urged that the Institute of Oriental Studies be connected with the Union republics of Central Asia, and organised expeditions to study local Eastern languages and the culture of the Eastern nations and nationalities of the USSR. He constantly stressed that "a profound knowledge of modern and contemporary history of the East is essential for construction in the Soviet East." He called all this "the common work of Oriental studies". He believed in the inexhaustible strength of the East, saw shoots of what was new in its life, thirsted for the early liberation of the oppressed peoples of the East from colonial exploitation. "We feel," he wrote in 1922, "that great strength is hidden in the new East... We want to present the East to the wide masses of the people, for we know that the old East, a great creator in the spiritual field, gave us eternal models that will never lose their importance for mankind and will never be repeated in such a way. We know as well that the new East is also full of great potentialities, that the behests of the old are not dead in it, but it must transform them into new models, strive towards new achievements."

In his article "A New Stage in Oriental Studies in the Academy of Sciences", printed in 1931, Oldenburg laid out a long-term programme for the development of Soviet Oriental studies and pointed out how they differed from Western Oriental studies. "Scrutinising attentively that great work which Oriental studies in the Academy of Sciences is at present conducting, on the lines of switching over to a new course, of drawing nearer to the life of the Union and of co-ordinating its tasks with social construction, we have a right to say that Oriental studies in the Academy of Sciences has set out and is moving along a new path." He emphasised the difference between West European Oriental studies and the new Oriental studies in the USSR. Previously, in many works, the idea was predominant that the West and the East were two different cultural worlds, and researchers sought to prove the superiority of Western culture over Eastern culture. These views, he remarked, were a reflection not only of the Europocentrist leanings of West European scholars, but first and foremost they reflected the colonial policy of the Western powers in the East. "The radical change in the nationalities policy since the time of the revolution," he wrote, "should, naturally, change the basic principle of Oriental studies in the Academy of Sciences." "The slogan 'Science for socialist construction'," Oldenburg said, "caused our Orientalists to review all the old directives and topics." Following this appeal, Oldenburg pointed out the need to include the modern East in the field of study considering that along with the study of the ancient culture of the East" in the forefront are questions of the economies of all the countries of the East, without a knowledge of which real knowledge of these countries is inconceivable". He wrote: "The life of our national republics faces us with such especially pressing issues as, for example, latinisation and the creation of literary languages.* The old order, as is known, hampered, in every way possible, the evolving of separate nationalities and greatly hindered the development of a number of languages and literatures." He pointed to the new demands presented by the revolution to Soviet Orientalists. One of the shortcomings of the old Oriental studies was that they ignored problems of social and economic development, of class structure, of the modern and contemporary history of the East. "Our scholars of Soviet Oriental studies," he wrote, "understood at once that if they really wanted to join the ranks of builders of socialism they must first of all begin an in-depth study of the contemporary East, and in relation to the past, must primarily study social and economic questions."

Oldenburg called on Orientalists to go over to the new methodology, and his role in the development of the Soviet Indological school was very great.

"The revolution," he wrote, "had a major influence on scientific work and mainly on the approach to scientific work, on *methodology*. For this, of course, there exists, first and foremost, one general reason: the demand presented by the revolution and socialist construction that science become closer to life." In his article "The Position of Our Science in the Context of World Science", he proudly noted that "in close connection with the new understanding of the building of life, our thoughts are most intensively directed towards methodology". Time and again Oldenburg noted with great satisfaction the exceptional successes of Soviet Oriental studies and Indology during the years of Soviet power. In 1933, in an article "Thoughts on Scientific Creativity" he stressed: "This vastly important creative work has never yet been undertaken on such a gigantic scale as with us now." His scholarly activities received international recognition. He was elected an Honorary Member of a number of Oriental societies of Western Europe and was also an Honorary Member of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The truly vast scale of Indological research, which developed in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s and during the following period, to a great extent became possible through the efforts of Sergei Oldenburg, a remarkable Indologist, major organiser of science, a genuine humanist and patriot.

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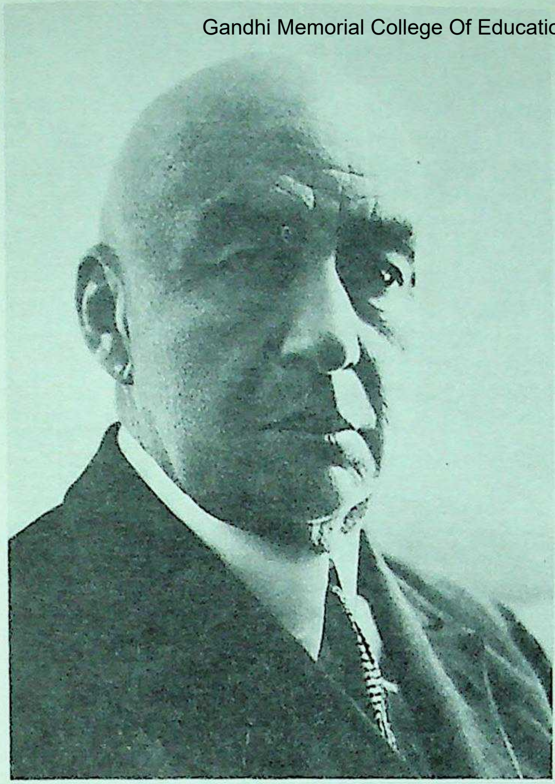
* After the October Revolution written languages were created for those nationalities of Russia who did not have their own written language; written literature appeared, and, on the basis of spoken languages, literary languages arose. With the aim of acquainting them with the achievements of world civilisation the written languages were transferred to the Russian (or Latin—during the initial period) alphabet.

# Chapter IV. The Scholarly Activity of Fyodor Shcherbatskoy – an Epoch in World Buddhology

The glorious traditions of Minayev's school of Indology and Buddhist studies were brilliantly carried forward by his pupil, Academician Fyodor Ippolitovich Shcherbatskoy (1866-1942), whose scholarly work constituted a whole era in world Buddhology. More than forty years have passed since his death but his works still retain their scholarly siginificance, are constantly being republished in different countries, his name is spoken with deepest respect by Indologists and specialists in Buddhist studies. His works are also very popular in India. Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Autobiography* assessed his work very highly, calling him an "authority on the subject". When the Indian Presidents Rajendra Prasad and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan visited the Soviet Union, they spoke with great respect of Shcherbatskoy's services to scholarship. Shcherbatskoy carried on a friendly correspondence with Rabindranath Tagore. The well-known Indian scholar Rahula Sankrityayana, who dedicated his edition of the *Pramana-Vartika* to the memory of Shcherbatskoy, called him the "greatest Orientalist of his times". The Indian philosopher Dharmendranath Shastri wrote: "We must acknowledge our deep debt of gratitude to this great savant and to the Soviet land, from which he hailed, for his inestimable contribution to Indian philosophical thought." In a detailed foreword to an English translation of Shcherbatskoy's works the eminent Indian philosopher Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya points out the huge contribution of the Soviet scholar to the development of world Indology and Buddhist studies. "But perhaps the greatest tribute to Stcherbatsky (Shcherbatskoy–*Authors*) is the accomplished fact that after him it has become impossible to discuss Indian philosophy adequately and at the same time to remain innocent of his contributions to our understanding of it... In an important sense Stcherbatsky did help us–the Indians–to discover our own past and to restore the right perspective of our own philosophical heritage." Judging by archive materials, creative collaboration connected Shcherbatskoy with such well-known Indian scholars as Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, S. N. Dasgupta, D. D. Kosambi, Bimala Churn Law, Ganganatha Jha, Raghu Vira, Nalinaksha Dutt and Suniti Kumar Chatterji among others.

In 1884 Shcherbatskoy completed his studies in the *Lyceum* in Tsarskoye Selo (near St Petersburg), one of the



**F. I. Shcherbatskoy**

best known educational establishments in Russia (many outstanding representatives of Russian culture and science studied there, including the great poet Alexander Pushkin), and entered the Faculty of History and Philology in St Petersburg University. From the very beginning of his studies at the university Shcherbatskoy was attracted by the culture of India and by comparative linguistics. His teachers included such outstanding Indologists as Minayev and Oldenburg, who not only handed on to him their knowldege of Sanskrit and ancient Indian culture, but also implanted in him a deep respect for the people of India, and a devotion to the lofty ideals of serving science. In the university Shcherbatskoy's exceptional talents as a philologist were clearly displayed, and when he wrote his thesis "On the Two Series of Glottal Sounds in Indo-European Languages", it immediately attracted the attention of leading scholars, and he was left at the university to prepare for a professorship. In 1889 he was sent on a study visit to Vienna where the Austrian Indologist Georg Bühler, an eminent specialist on ancient Indian literature, poetics, epigraphy and palaeography, was working at the time. In Vienna Shcherbatskoy studied ancient Indian poetics, inscriptions, grammatical treatises (especially Panini's grammar) and the *Shastras* with great persistence and enthusiasm, and began to analyse philosophical texts. These studies determined, to a great extent, the young Sanskritist's scholarly interests, strengthened in him the conviction of the need to research philosophical treatises on the basis of a thorough textual analysis of Sanskrit texts. His mentor in Vienna, Professor Bühler, had lived in India for many years and introduced much that was new into the system of teaching Sanskrit in European universities, paying particular attention to the traditional Indian methods of teaching Sanskrit. A superb knowledge of the ancient Indian language enabled Shcherbatskoy to take up research into the most difficult texts on the theory of poetry and, later on, the logic and philosophy of Buddhism.

His studies under Bühler influenced the trend of Schherbatskoy's research work: in 1900 he published the historical poem *Haihayendracarita* with a commentary and a German translation, and in 1902 he published a long article "The Theory of Poetry in India". His passion for epigraphy led him to investigate the inscriptions of the 7th-century Indian ruler Shiladitya.

His work on the history of poetry in India was particularly important. He was one of the first European Indologists to describe in detail the teaching on *dhvani* or poetic suggestion (this article, first published in the *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya*—Journal of the Ministry of Public Education—was reprinted in 1962 in the *Selected Works of Russian Indologist-Philologists*, in Russian, and once again in 1969 in Harish C. Gupta's English translation in Calcutta in the *Papers of Th. Stcherbatsky* with Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya as editor). It is significant that this research of Shcherbatskoy's was published before the appearance of the special work on ancient Indian poetics by one of the founders of German Indology, Hermann Jacobi. Shcherbatskoy justly emphasised the high level of poetics in India. "Poetics, along with philosophy, grammar, astronomy and jurisprudence, occupied a prominent place among the sciences that flourished in ancient India," he wrote. He also tried to reconstruct the basic stages in the history of poetic theory, taking into account facts from the historical, cultural and political development of ancient India. This was, to a large extent, an innovatory approach, but it reflected the general principles of Russian Indology, which set about the evaluation of the various phenomena in the spiritual life of ancient India from the historical point of view. Shcherbatskoy analysed in detail different aspects of the theory of poetics—*rasa*, style, etc., but already in this early work devoted to poetics one can see his special interest in philosophy, which soon came to occupy a central position in his researches. Thus, examining the problem of *rasa*, he noted: "Generally, every author tries to solve this difficult question in conformity with one of the philosophical doctrines prevalent in India." His article reflected yet another feature, characteristic of his method of research—he examined the development of ancient Indian poetics, and culture in general, not merely within the framework of India herself but considerably wider, against the background of the development of world civilisation, first and foremost of the antique world. In the conclusion to his article he wrote: "Thus, a study of the historical development of poetry in India also gives us the features of its likeness to the development of poetics in Greece and Rome and in addition it has distinctive features which make it worthy of the same attention that has heretofore been given to the poetry of Greece and Rome." His idea is clear: poetics in India, in spite of its originality and specific character, should be compared typologically with Graeco-Roman poetics, not only to show their resemblance, but to attract special attention to ancient Indian culture, which Western scholars had studied insufficiently and at times tendentiously.

Showing great interest in philosophy, he went to Bonn in 1889 to work with Jacobi on philosophical texts. He gave particular attention to treatises on logic. (This subject later became foremost in his range of interests.) After returning to St Petersburg he began to teach Sanskrit, but continued intensive work on source material on philosophy and logic, and completed his first major works on these subjects. In 1902 his "Logic in Ancient India", comparatively small in volume but extremely important, appeared. (This article was translated into English by Harish C. Gupta and published in India in Calcutta, in 1971, in the "Soviet Indology Series" under the editorship of Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya.) Developing Vasilyev's ideas, he distinguishes three periods in the development of Buddhism but pays special attention to logic. Shcherbatskoy explains the turning of Buddhists to logic, not only by the development of Buddhist thought itself, but also by a change in the general socio-political situation in India, by changes in the development of spiritual life as a whole. In his opinion, in the Gupta period, when the rebirth of Brahmanism occurred and the Gupta rulers gave special protection to Hinduist tendencies, the Buddhists in their dispute with the Brahmans turned to logic. Shcherbatskoy considered logic and dialectics to be the weapon the Buddhist philosophers directed against their ideological opponents. In his work he opposed the view of a number of West European scholars according to which Indian logic was borrowed from Greek logic and inherited many typical features from it. He wrote: "Indian logic is an entirely original product, which developed in the natural course on the Indian soil."

An International Congress of Orientalists in Rome, where a resolution on international co-operation in the study of Northern Buddhism and Central Asian culture was adopted, largely influenced his scholarly career. Attracted by these plans, Shcherbatskoy continued to study the Tibetan language and literature with great enthusiasm in order to make wide use of these sources in the analysis of Buddhism and Buddhist philosopy. New finds of Buddhist Sanskrit texts in Eastern Turkestan convinced Shcherbatskoy of the need to study the works of Northern Buddhism with the aid of Tibetan translations. He was an active supporter of the position of his teacher Vasilyev, who had proved in his dispute with the well-known French specialist in Buddhist studies, Burnouf, the need for a critical approach to assessing the texts of representatives of the Pali Buddhist school and for the wide use of Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian sources as well as Indian ones.

Shcherbatskoy's two-volume work *Theory of Knowledge and Logic According to Later Buddhists*, brought him international fame. The first volume (1903) included a translation from the Sanskrit of a work on logic by the famous Buddhist philosopher Dharmakirti (7th century A.D.)—the *Nyayabindu prakarana* (A Short Treatise of Logic) and Dharmottara's commentary (*Nyayabindu-tika*); the second volume (Study of Perception and Inference, 1909) was, in addition, of special research significance. Translations into German and French bear witness to the high value placed on this work by Shcherbatskoy.

Its importance was very great, especially if one considers that it was written in a period when the study of Indian logic was only just beginning, and in West European scholarship one-sided and extremely tendentious assessments of the spiritual legacy of ancient India were frequently expressed. Many scholars at that time shared Hegel's opinion that "Oriental philosophy should be excluded from the history of philosophy" insofar as in the East "philosophical recognition cannot take place". By its very character Shcherbatskoy's work was in this way aimed directly against the Europocentrist approach to the study of Indian philosophical thought, although he tried to carry out a certain comparison of Indian philosophy with European philosophy (including Kantian philosophy, in vogue at that time in Europe). Nevertheless his reference to Kant was brought about by the urge to show that many ideas elaborated by the philosophers of ancient India, including the well-known Buddhist logicians Dignaga and Dharmakirti, were expressed considerably later and in different historical and cultural conditions by West European philosophers of modern times. Moreover, he was particularly drawn by the opportunity to explain the difference in principle between the philosophical ideas of Indian thinkers and West European philosophers. He tried to show in his research that "the opposition of sense perception to thought has a different character among Buddhists from what it has in all philosophy before Kant". Concerning Kant's philosophical teaching, he also stressed that the reader must "in every way possible avoid all that might lead to the assumption that we wish to predetermine the question of Kant's resemblance to Dharmakirti (Shcherbatskoy gave a more detailed comparison of Indian and European philosophical traditions in his *Buddhist Logic* written considerably later.) In his work he also opposed the position of the prominent German philosopher Schopenhauer, to whom, using Shcherbatskoy's words "it seemed that the Indian sages saw clearly just the same things as he did".

Shcherbatskoy rendered a great service when he established the fact that Dharmakirti set forth logic in connection with the theory of knowledge. This enabled him to come to the important conclusion on the influence of logic on all systems of Indian philosophical thought. "To discover the full extent of Dharmakirti's importance in the history of Indian philosophy," he wrote, "means to write the history of Indian philosophy." It is exceptionally important that even in this early work Shcherbatskoy's historical and social approach to research into the processes of spiritual life are shown in full measure. At the base of the struggle of different trends in Indian philosophy, he saw not only the opposition of diverse conceptions, but the struggle of the exponents of these ideas–a clash of social groups. "Behind the scenes of the philosophical struggle," he wrote, "a vital struggle of people was undoubtedly going on: a struggle between the bearers of these ideas." Another important idea permeating Shcherbatskoy's works was the maintenance of the thesis that the arguments, polemics and struggle of various schools in Indian philosophy reflected the opposition of two basic trends–the realistic and the idealistic. "The historian," he stressed, "follows the peripetia of this heated struggle in the field of ideas with keen interest, because he sees in it the struggle of eternal ideas, the struggle of realism with idealism." It is significant that at the very beginning of his scholarly work Shcherbatskoy was already paying particular attention to the study of materialist trends in Indian philosophy, and that this later became the object of the scholar's serious research. He also highly appraised the Buddhist theory of knowledge for the elaboration, by Buddhist logicians, of elements of dialectics. This really was a significant achievement of Buddhist philosophers and it is no accident that Engels pointed out the "spontaneously dialectical thinking" of the Buddhists.

Being an expert on ancient Indian culture, Shcherbatskoy, in his research into the treatise of Dharmakirti, was able to reveal other important features characteristic of the development of the spiritual life of ancient India in general. Special note should be made of the valuable conclusion he reached on the incompatibility of genuinely philosophical conceptions with religous doctrines, although he was perfectly aware that in the specific conditions of ancient India many ideas, both of philosophers and religous preachers, were frequently organically interconnected and acquired similar forms. "Scientific philosophy," he wrote, "particularly when based on the scientific theory of knowledge, is incompatible with religious creeds." Proceeding from this extremely important tenet, Shcherbatskoy not only revealed the specifics of the general course of development of ancient Indian philosophy and religion, but also stressed the different character of the interconnection of these phenomena in the spiritual life of India and that of Europe. He noted that in "Indian religions, even in those which preceded Buddhism, the view of the relationship of religous creeds to philosophical speculations was not the same as in Europe". The conclusion to which Shcherbatskoy came, on the basis of a scrupulous study of ancient Indian philosophical works, was significant not only for Indology itself but also for a wider range of problems connected with the comprehension of the general course of development of world philosophical thinking. Many West European scholars uncritically transferred their own patterns, based on the study of classical (Greek and Roman) philosophy, to India or even denied to ancient Indian philosophers any originality in their ideas and conceptions. Quite another extreme was the position of those specialists in the field of ancient Indian culture, including some Indian scholars, who supported the thesis of the complete merging and identity of philosophy and religion in India, and of the all-embracing mysticism and spiritualism of her philosophical systems. The Russian scholar's approach was obviously different in principle and reflected the actual picture of the spiritual development of ancient India. Soviet Indologists rightly stress in their works the importance of Shcherbatskoy's conclusion on the specific character of the coexistence of philosophy and religion in India. Thus, Professor A. Litman, in his article "The Contribution of F. Shcherbatskoy to the Study of Indian Philosophy", writes: "This thesis has an extremely important meaning for the methods of studying Indian philosophy, for this specific character appears also in the teachings of modern and recent times."

Mainly thanks to Shcherbatskoy's work, that appeared at the very beginning of the 20th century, Indologists and specialists in Buddhist studies, as well as wide circles of the scholarly world in general, became for the first time so fully and deeply acquainted with the achievements of ancient Indian logicians, with the creativeness of the outstanding thinkers of India–Dignaga and Dharmakirti.

One should stress the fact that the prominent Indian scholar Satichandra Vidyabhushana played a major role in the study of Indian logic. Independently of the Russian Buddhist scholar, he began analysing the history of Indian logic. However, as Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya noted, "There had been some basic differences in the approach as well as in the outcome of the works of these two scholars. While Vidyabhushana's approach had on the whole been that of a dry historian, Stcherbatsky wanted to rationalise 'Buddhist logic' in modern terminology and to offer a vigorous philosophical defence of it." Realising the significance of the introduction of new works of ancient Indian philosophical thought into scholarly circulation, Shcherbatskoy appealed for a creative union of the efforts of philosophers and philologists. He knew that the translation from Sanskrit and Tibetan of the works of ancient Indian philosophers would be an important factor for revealing the enormous contribution made by ancient India to the development of world culture, for the struggle against the false assertion that it was Graeco-Roman thought alone that described all the wealth of philosophical ideas, quests and achievements of ancient philosophy. "It is our deep conviction," wrote Shcherbatskoy, "that only by the combined works of philosophers and philologists will it be possible sooner or later to work on the limitless wealth of philosophical thought, hidden so far in ancient Buddhist literature, to be sufficiently able to introduce it into the practice of contemporary education and make the names of Dignaga and Dharmakirti as familiar and dear to us as are the names of Plato and Aristotle." Intense work on Sanskrit Buddhist texts and their Tibetan translations convinced Shcherbatskoy of the need to make a trip to Mongolia and the Transbaikal region to acquaint himself with Tibetan literature and the oral Tibetan tradition, and to study the problem of the cultural influence of India in Central and Eastern Asia. These regions were a splendid laboratory for the study of "living Buddhism" and Buddhist texts, first and foremost in the Tibetan language. In 1905, on behalf of the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia, he went to Mongolia, visited monastery libraries, studied rare manuscripts, and obtained splendid practice in spoken Tibetan. He had the good fortune there to meet experts in Indian philosophy, and he practised translating from Tibetan into Sanskrit. "Mongolia," he wrote, "is living India." He planned to organise a scientific expedition to Tibet, but his plans were not realised in practice, the tsarist government refused permission for this scientific journey.

In order to continue his studies of Tibetan literature and language he went to the Transbaikal region, where he met some lamas (Buddhist monks), visited monasteries, and brought forth evidence of ancient Indian cultural traditions. In a letter to S. Oldenburg (1907) he stressed the importance to Indology of studying the culture of this region. "Everything that is going on here, in Aga, is, in all probability, a perfect copy of what went on in Nalanda in the 7th century. The influence of India has already passed into folklore ... together with literature we have here... And we shall have to study, on this basis, besides logic and philosophy, such systems as Kalacakra and Yoga."

Shcherbatskoy was most concerned about the future of Indology and Buddhist studies in Russia, and urged the need for the utmost development of these branches of Oriental studies in Russia. Writing to Oldenburg, who was at that time the Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, he said: "I don't know if it is the voice of a narrow specialist that is speaking in me, but it seems to me desirable to have a department of Sanskrit literature in Irkutsk for the study of Buddhism." In the same letter he once again returned to the theme that was constantly worrying him—the need to make an all-round study of India's cultural heritage, in order to show the enormous contribution of her peoples to world civilisation, to overcome the traditional view, widespread among Western scholars at the time, of Graeco-Roman culture as the cradle of mankind's ancient culture. "Having analysed the whole of Buddhist literature we shall set up such a philology as will surpass, as a younger one, classical (Graeco-Roman) philology, and raise India higher than Greece and Rome, to which she has a full right."

His trip to Mongolia and the Transbaikal region played an important part in Shcherbatskoy's scholarly career, but his journey to India in 1910 had even more importance. Although he spent less than a year there, he obtained exceptionally valuable material for his work on the history of Buddhist philosophy and logic, became personally acquainted with the ancient relics in the homeland of Buddhism, comprehended anew many scientific problems that he was engrossed in. In his report on his stay in India, referring to the tasks of the trip, he wrote: "The purpose of my visit to India, besides an overall acquaintance with the country, was primarily a quest after the relics of Buddhist philosophical literature, both in the works of the Buddhists themselves and in those of the Brahmanas and Jainas, inasmuch as these latter reflected–directly or indirectly–the period (5th to 10th centuries A.D.) when Buddhism flourished in the history of Indian civilisation. At the same time I also wanted to familiarise myself with the present state of the study of Sanskrit language and literature in India and especially of those disciplines which hitherto had not been interpreted by European scholars and were to them more or less an enigma."* Being already a recognised authority on Indology and Buddhist studies, it was as if Shcherbatskoy accustomed himself anew to the traditional system of studying philosophical texts. His excellent knowledge of Sanskrit enabled him to discuss the most complicated problems of the philosophical doctrines of various schools and trends with the pundits. In his own words: "Every day, from morning till evening, we spent our time in philosophical discussions." He studied works on *Nyaya (Nyaya-Vaisheshika)* and *Mimamsa*, visited the most famous centres of traditional learning–Bombay, Benares, Poona and Calcutta. His letter to Oldenburg (April 1910) provides clear evidence of the persistence and enthusiasm with which he studied Sanskrit and philosophical *Shastras*: "In Europe I considered myself quite an expert in *Nyaya* but after arriving here I saw that I must relearn it all from the beginning, and that without a knowledge of *Mimamsa* it is impossible to know *Nyaya* well. I at once fell upon two pundits from Mithila, genuine *Shastris*, one of them a *Sannyasi*. With their help I am going through the same full course of *Nyaya* as the *Shastris* themselves do. They are genuine Hindu teachers of the old style, and of course without a word of English... I considered my main aim to be the study of the *Shastras*, and a tour of and acquaintance with India to be of secondary importance, and I therefore decided to do everything possible to obtain full benefit from my *Shastris*. It will soon be four months since I began to spend 16 hours a day on *Nyaya* and I still cannot say that I feel at home in it... I already have quite a decent library of books and manuscripts on *Nyaya*."

Following the advice of his teacher Minayev, Shcherbatskoy paid special attention whilst in India to "finding the Sanskrit originals of compositions which had been translated into Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian", and to studying in detail Jaina works, so that he would have a more complete idea of the general process of the development of religious and philosophical trends in India. He wrote that when he met R.G. Bhandarkar, he discussed with him problems connected with Jaina religion and philosophy. Like Minayev, Shcherbatskoy went to Darjeeling, where he familiarised himself with Tibetan manuscripts and got to know some specialists in Tibetan culture; he met the Dalai-Lama, who invited him to visit Tibet to study Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, but he was not able to undertake this trip.

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* Shcherbatskoy's report on his trip to India was translated into English by Harish Chandra Gupta and published in Calcutta, in 1971, in *Further Papers of Stcherbatsky.*

On the whole his stay in India was exceptionally fruitful, enriched his knowledge of the history of Indian philosophy, and enabled him to see and get a sense of Indian reality from within, as it were, and to amplify and review some of his previous views. He established close contacts with leading Indian Sanskrit scholars, philosophers and specialists in Buddhist studies, and afterwards maintained good relations with them for many years, carrying on a regular scholarly correspondence. His brilliant mastery of Sanskrit and his many-sided learning gained him deep respect in the most varied scholarly circles of India. In Calcutta the pundits conferred on him the honorary title of *Tarkabhushana* as an outstanding authority in Indian logic.

After his return home Shcherbatskoy, enriched with new knowledge, devoted himself entirely to scholarly research, combining it with the teaching of Indological disciplines in the university.

Buddhism, as before, was at the centre of his interests. He was paying the utmost attention at this period to the work of the outstanding Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu, who was considered to be, according to tradition, "the second Buddha". Realising the great importance of the *Abhidharmakosha* of Vasubandhu for the study of Buddhism, Shcherbatskoy made efforts to set up an international project to study different versions of this work. After the discovery of the Uighur version of the *Abhidharmakosha* in Eastern Turkestan by Aurel Stein, the French Indologist and scholar in Buddhist studies S. Lévi began work on the text. Shcherbatskoy met him in Paris in 1912 and discussed plans for an international enterprise for research into Vasubandhu's work. Such outstanding scholars as Louis de la Vallée Poussin (Belgium), Denison Ross (Britain), whom Shcherbatskoy had met in India, and U. Wogihara (Japan), were all invited to take part in this work. The main aim was a critical edition of all the known versions of the *Abhidharmakosha*. "Thus, this work begun on the initiative of a Russian scholar," wrote Oldenburg, "and launched by him on an international scale, created a firm basis for the systematic study of Buddhist philosophy and Buddhism itself." It is especially relevant to note that these plans of Shcherbatskoy's are being successfully fulfilled at the present time by Soviet scholars: some years ago one of his pupils, Boris Semichov, in co-operation with Mikhail Bryansky, published the Tibetan text of the *Abhidharmakosha* with a Russian translation, and the young Leningrad scholar Valery Rudoy defended his thesis for a master's degree on a terminological analysis of the *Abhidharmakosha* on the basis of the Sanskrit text and its Tibetan and Chinese translations.

A qualitatively new stage in Shcherbatskoy's creative work began in the Soviet period. In 1918 he was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences. Together with S. Oldenburg he took an active part in the organising of Soviet Oriental studies, and in 1928 was appointed Director of the Institute of Buddhist Culture, and later on he headed the Indo-Tibetan Department in the Institute of Oriental Studies. Beginning in 1920 his main generalising works on Buddhism appeared, and he became the most outstanding authority in world Buddhology of his day. It should be noted that he was an Honorary

Member of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, of the Société Asiatique in Paris, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Berlin, etc.

Closely bound by education and upbringing to the scholarly traditions of the second part of the 19th century, Shcherbatskoy's works also reflected the scientific discoveries which the 1920s brought with them. He showed not only a brilliant knowledge of philosophy but a lively interest in new trends in psychology, logic and the exact sciences. This enabled him to avoid the fate of a number of European and Indian scholars, who found themselves prisoners of the traditional approach, and to look at the development of Indian philosophy and logic from the standpoint of world philosophy, with the eyes of a 20th-century man, and to translate the complicated system of Buddhist thought into the language of European scholarship. In this way it was a new approach, in no way dictated by a desire to contrast Indian culture and philosophy with the Western, nor, on the other hand, to draw them closer together artificially.

Shcherbatskoy was one of the first in world Buddhist studies to introduce the new approach to the study of Buddhist philosophy and logic. He ascribed enormous importance to the study of Buddhism as a broad historical and cultural phenomenon, uniquely original, many-sided and complex, which had had a powerful effect on the development of many nations of Asia. Buddhism, in his words, carried with it all the achievements of Indian learning over ten centuries, including three centuries of the so-called Golden Age of Indian learning, when Indian science, literature and technology attained a stage unprecedented in the history of the East.

For Shcherbatskoy Buddhism was not simply a teaching on an ethical, religious or philosophical plane, static and identical in different countries and at different stages of its history: he stressed the constant development of Buddhist doctrine, of its categories and ideas, the specifics of the teachings of separate schools and sects. Together with this he saw in Buddhism a range of definite ideas common to all its forms. Failing to realise these common foundations, he wrote, "some superficial observers concluded that in the northern countries Buddhism 'degenerated' and is an altogether different religion". He therefore persistently advised that Buddhism proper should be distinguished from various theories alien to it in spirit, mystic and even fanatic, which in the course of time hung on to it and overgrew it.

A remarkable feature of Shcherbatskoy was his urge not to look at Buddhism from outside, or, what is most important, from a Christian standpoint, so characteristic of many Western specialists of Buddhism, but from inside, proceeding from the systems which had taken shape within the framework of Buddhist tradition itself. It was not without reason that many scholars in both East and West regarded Shcherbatskoy as the leading figure in world Buddhology.

Early in this century there still existed in West European science a point of view that looked on Buddhism as on a minor phenomenon as compared with Brahmanism, but the Soviet scholar brought about a radical change in this traditional and mistaken point of view. "We can state with a feeling of deep satisfaction," wrote the well-known Soviet Orientalists Academicians Oldenburg, Kokovtsev, Marr and Barthold, "that the influence of Shcherbatskoy's work on Buddhist philosophy made itself felt even on his teachers, Professors Bühler and Jacobi, who undoubtedly under the influence of the new scientific material discovered and studied by him largely changed their old Brahmanical attitude to Buddhism as a minor phenomenon in Indian culture. They and other Indologists had to come to the conclusion that Buddhism occupied an exceptional position in the very centre of Indian culture and Indian philosophy, and that after Buddhism, which influenced it to a great extent, Brahmanical philosophy became different."

For Shcherbatskoy the study of Buddhism was subordinate to his main purpose, which was a deep understanding of Indian culture. It was not simply the academic interest of an armchair scholar,.but public-spirited enthusiasm, the desire to raise Indology in the USSR to a new level, and to strengthen the co-operation and friendship between the peoples of the two countries. He emphasised the enormous contribution of India to world civilisation. "Her achievements in the fields of astronomy, mathematics and medicine are great, remarkable in the field of law, entrancing in the field of poetry, unequalled in the field of poetic creation, but the kernel of her highest achievements lies in the fields of philosophy and religion."

Shcherbatskoy's book *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma"*, small in volume but exceptionally valuable, which was devoted to an elucidation of the concept of *dharma*, was an important event both in his scholarly career and in the development of world Buddhist studies. "The concept of *dharma*," he wrote, "is the central point of Buddhist doctrine, in which it admittedly occupies the keystone position."

West European specialists in Buddhist studies were unable to give a correct answer to the question of the content of this concept, relying solely, as they did, on the Southern Buddhist tradition, and basing themselves on early Pali canonical texts and considering the Buddha simply as a moralist. The philosophical aspect of *dharma*, the significance of *dharmas* as elements, as the only ultimate realities, turned out to be outside their field of vision. Such a one-sided approach led to the perversion of Buddhism as a whole, reducing this complex, diverse system to a simple religious, ethical and sectarian teaching, whose philosophical content was of purely historical interest. Shcherbatskoy made a detailed analysis of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakosha*, the work of the sect of *Sarvastivadins*. It was not by chance that he turned to the texts of this particular sect, insofar as he considered that "this school is one of the earliest, if not the earliest of Buddhist sects". "An exposition of its views," he wrote, "will afford the best opportunity of examining the full connotation of this term." He came to the conclusion that under *dharmas* should be understood elements of reality (ultimate elements), which for Buddhists was the only reality.

In his research Shcherbatskoy showed that such an understanding of *dharma* was characteristic of Buddhism in general, although in the primary doctrine *dharma* frequently preserved the significance of a moral dogma, of moral duty. All the schools of the *Hinayana* and the *Mahayana*, especially in the later epoch, elaborated this theory.

Over the six decades that have passed since this work appeared, the history and doctrines of various schools of Northern and Southern Buddhism have, undoubtedly, become better understood, but Shcherbatskoy's basic conclusions remain important and weighty to this day. New researches only confirmed the depth of his studies in the field of Buddhist philosophy, the correctness of his opinions on the central categories, on the history and the fate of this doctrine.

The next important stage in Shcherbatskoy's researches into Buddhism was his work on the problem of *nirvana*, a work which, according to the just opinion of the eminent Indologist from the German Democratic Republic Walter Ruben, "could not have been accomplished by any other European or Indian scholar". The fact is that in spite of the length of time spent on the study of Buddhism, scholars had not formed any clear conclusion about the content of this most important category of Buddhism. There was even a widespread point of view in Buddhology that it was impossible to determine the substance of *nirvana*. "The concept of Buddhist *nirvana*," wrote the famous Indologist Louis de la Vallée Poussin, lay outside our categories. The Indian scholar N. Dutt took up an even more extreme position, considering that to determine the meaning of this term was simply useless. "Although a hundred years have elapsed since the scientific study of Buddhism has been initiated in Europe," wrote Shcherbatskoy, "we are nevertheless still in the dark about the fundamental teachings of this religion and its philosophy."

In 1927 Shcherbatskoy published his book *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana* in English. He was the first to give a philosophical interpretation of *nirvana*, and to discern the essential changes in the formation of this conception at various periods in the history of Buddhism and in various schools of the *Hinayana* and the *Mahayana*. Basing his work on Nagarjuna's *Madhyamika-Shastra* (On Relativity) and the commentaries of Candrakirti, Shcherbatskoy consistently and precisely disclosed the *Mahayana* understanding of *nirvana*, and its difference from the *Hinayana* interpretation. In contradistinction to many of his predecessors, who were interested only in the ethical side of the teaching on *nirvana*, which reflected an early stage in the development of Buddhism, Shcherbatskoy turned to the philosophical aspect of this category, which enabled him to approach the evaluation of the specifics of the system as a whole in a different way.

He showed that the elaboration of the theory of *nirvana* relates to a much later period than the time when Buddhism originated, and is connected with the *Mahayana* school of Nagarjuna and his pupils. Therefore, in both sense and importance, *nirvana* in early Buddhism is noticeably different from that of later Buddhism. This book demonstrated the approach to Buddhism as a constantly changing doctrine, frequently containing, within the framework of a single system, opposite categories and ideas.

Herein he came out against those scholars (first and foremost L. de la Vallée Poussin and the well-known British Indologist Arthur Keith) who saw in *nirvana* a faith emerging from the practice of obscure magic, a state of bliss attained through *yoga*. He was also firmly opposed to the opinion widespread at the time that mysticism was the main feature of Buddhist philosophy and Indian philosophy generally. Just as the European mind was not altogether and not always free from mysticism, he wrote, so is the Indian mind not at all necessarily subject to it. In this, as in other works of his, he sharply criticised the position of West European scholars who contrasted Indian philosophy with the general course of development of philosophical thought, and wrote about a certain special, as it were, thinking of Indians. In their despair certain scholars, noted Shcherbatskoy, came to the conclusion that religion or the philosophical system in India was not what it was in Europe, and did not fit into clearly defined logical constructions, but was always vaguely indefinite, a display of dreamy thought, the meaning of which the authors themselves were not quite sure of. He was one of the first scholars of Buddhist studies to reveal the essence of the doctrine of the *Mahayana*, and to note the most important changes that took place in Buddhism during the emergence of the schools of the *Mahayana*. "It never has been fully realised what a radical revolution had transformed the Buddhist Church when a new spirit, which was for a long time lurking in it, arose in the blaze of glory in the first centuries A.D." It was owing to Nagarjuna's teaching on relativity, Shcherbatskoy stated, that "the whole edifice of early Buddhism was undermined and smashed. The *nirvana* of the *Hinayanists*, their Buddha, their ontology and moral philosophy, their conception of reality and causality were abandoned together with the idea of ultimate reality of the senses and sense data, of the mind and of all their elements of Matter, Mind and Forces."

It is quite significant that Shcherbatskoy did not regard the development of Buddhist doctrine as an isolated process. He succeeded in interpreting the basic meaning of the transition from the pluralism of the *Hinayana* to the monism of the *Mahayana*. "In the *Hinayana*, in a word, we have a radical Pluralism converted in the *Mahayana* as radical Monism." Explaining the essence of Nagarjuna's principle of relativity, he showed that "the *Hinayanic* Absolute becomes just as relative as all other ultimates of this system".

His book gave a translation of Chapters I and XXX of Nagarjuna's *Madhyamika Shastra*, and Candrakirti's commentary on it the *Prasanapada*. Shcherbatskoy considered these works to be the true philosophical basis of *Mahayana* Buddhism.

The polemic about *nirvana*, being carried on with such acerbity in Shcherbatskoy's day, is not ended even today, in fact one could say it has become even more bitter. However, the development of Buddhist studies has, on the whole, confirmed his basic conclusions, set out in his book on *nirvana*. It is significant that his work on *nirvana* was translated into Japanese in 1957.

Shcherbatskoy's two-volume work *Buddhist Logic* (1930-1932) was a result of many years of research in the field of Buddhist philosophy and logic. In the opinion of Dharmendranath Shastri, this work is the greatest work of Indian philosophy in the last 250 years; the outstanding British Buddhologist, Edward Conze, called *Buddhist Logic* "a masterpiece of the first order".

Stressing the importance of Shcherbatskoy's works on Buddhist logic Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya wrote: "We can now see the stupendous value of the discovery of 'Buddhist logic'... It was by itself the discovery of a long-forgotten but by far the most vigorous aspect of the Indian philosophical activity. But it was something more than that. It created the first real possibility of restoring the correct perspective of the Indian philosophical situation."

In his work Shcherbatskoy distinguishes three periods in the history of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophical thinking: the first period begins in the 5th century B.C. and ends in the early part of the 1st century A.D.; the second is the spread of the *Mahayana* (up to the 4th-5th centuries) and finally, the third, connected with Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga and Dharmakirti. "Buddhist logic reveals itself as the culminating point of a long course of Indian philosophic history." This periodisation is nowadays followed by many specialists in Buddhist studies. Shcherbatskoy gives an excellent description of all three stages, but pays special attention to the views of Dignaga and Dharmakirti. "This is the first outstanding feature of that period, a keen interest in logic, which towards the end of the period becomes overwhelming and supersedes the former, theoretical part, of Buddhism." His conclusion that "we may be justified in calling the Buddhist system a system of epistemological logic", was extremely important.

He used a very wide range of sources in writing this work. "Our nearly unique source at that time was the *Nyayabindu*..." he wrote; "since that time our knowledge of the subject has been considerably enlarged... The *Nyayabindu* is no more a solitary rock in an unknown sea."

He examined the teaching of the Dignaga and Dharmakirti school in all its aspects (metaphisics, epistemology and logic) against the background of the development of different schools of Indian philosophy–Buddhist and non-Buddhist. He gave a critical survey of all the major trends and schools of Indian philosophy (materialism, *Samkhya*, *Yoga*, *Vedanta*, *Mimamsa*, *Nyaya-Vaisheshika*, *Jainism*, etc.) but his attention was focussed mainly on the dispute of the *Yogacaras* with *Nyaya-Vaisheshika*. He was interested in the roots of Dignaga's and Dharmakirti's logical constructions and the history of Indian philosophy in its development. He showed a brilliant knowledge not only of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophical texts, but of Indian philosophy in general. The depth and scope of his learning simply surprise and delight. Dharmendranath Shastri wrote: "Although the work done by Western scholars on the religious aspect of Buddhism and its Pali literature is stupendous, and on Buddhist metaphysics also scholars like de la Vallée Poussin, Sylvain Lévi, Professor and Mrs Rhys Davids have made valuable contributions, yet the position of Stcherbatsky is unique, not only as the foremost exponent of the Dignaga school, but also as an expounder of other branches of Buddhist metaphysics." It was quite obvious, Shastri continued, that no other Western scholar, nor any Indian one either, possessed such complete and perfect knowledge of the philosophy of *Nyaya-Vaisheshika* as did Shcherbatskoy.

Shcherbatskoy's historical approach to the analysis of Buddhist philosophy and logic was exceptionally important: when evaluating them he proceeded from the laws of historical development. Buddhist logic, he wrote, revealed itself as the culminating point of the long development of philosophical history. "Its birth, its growth and its decline run parallel with the birth, growth and decline of Indian civilisation."

As in his previous works he poses the exceptionally important question of the correlation of Indian philosophy with European philosophy, tries to point out similarities and differences in their development. "In this work," he wrote, "I investigated the field of Indian logic according to sources, in its leading, Buddhist branch and side by side with a historical sketch tried to present it systematically. By means of contrast, through parallelism with corresponding European theories, I tried to make 'strange' Indian theories understandable." He resorted to an original and vivid method, putting comments into the mouths of European and Indian philosophers (ancient and modern). Here Parmenides, Democrites, Epicurus, Lucretius, Spinoza, Kant, Nagarjuna, Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Vasubandhu, Kamalashila and Jaina thinkers–all express their opinions on fundamental problems.

However, the basic conclusion comes down to showing that, notwithstanding all existing parallels, Buddhist logic "is a logic, but it is not Aristotelian. It is epistemological, but not Kantian."

Later on, in his foreword to an edition of the *Madhyantavibhanga*, noting the originality of Indian philosophy, Shcherbatskoy once again stressed the similarity of the basic features in the development of Indian and European philosophy. He wrote that Indian philosophy reached a very high level of development, and the principal lines of this development ran parallel with those one finds in European philosophy.

His work on Buddhist logic was an outstanding event in the history of world Buddhist studies. Although works on logic had interested scholars before Shcherbatskoy (in Russian scholarship Shcherbatskoy's teacher, V. Vasilyev, had turned his attention to them, in Western Europe, S. Lévi and L. de la Vallée Poussin, among Indian scholars, S. Vidyabhushan), Shcherbatskoy's work was built up, in principle, quite differently, on a higher level of historical, philosophical and textual analysis, his conclusions were more fundamental and significant, and the range of material investigated broader and more diverse. When one read Shcherbatskoy's works, wrote Dharmendranath Shastri, one was struck by his knowledge of Indian philosophical systems, his keen critical flair... *Buddhist Logic* by the late Leningrad professor Shcherbatskoy proved to be a remarkable work, revealing to the world not only the hidden treasure of the Dignaga school of philosophy, but also providing a model of critical research into the original works of Uddyotakara, Vacaspati Mishra, Jayanta, Shridhara, Udayana and other authors.

A brilliant expert in Sanskrit and Tibetan, an experienced textual critic and exquisite translator, Shcherbatskoy by his publication of the most important texts of Buddhist culture made an outstanding contribution to Buddhist studies. Sanskrit and Tibetan compositions, which he published, provide convincing evidence of the immensity of his labour.

He studied Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakosha* for many years and, as already mentioned, involved a number of prominent foreign scholars in this work. This creative collaboration yielded brilliant results. Shcherbatskoy published Tibetan translations of the *Abhidharmakosha*, and published the first part of Yashomitra's commentary to Vasubandhu's work jointly with S. Lévi and the second part in co-operation with U. Wogihara. According to Oldenburg, "the systematic and regular study of Buddhism begins only with the accomplishments of Shcherbatskoy and his collaborators".

Shcherbatskoy was one of the first in world Buddhist studies to examine the literature of the *Prajnaparamita*. With his pupil Obermiller he published Sanskrit and Tibetan texts and translations of the *Abhisamayalankara-parjnaparamita-upadesha-shastra*—an important work of the *Yogacara* school, attributed to Maitreya. It was, in its way, a commentary to the original text of the *Prajnaparamita* and enabled the fundamentals of the teaching in general to be explained.

Attention to the theory of the *Yogacaras* resulted in the translation of one of the most interesting treatises on the Absolute, the *Madhyantavibhanga*, in which are revealed the principles of the divergence between the *Yogacaras* and the *Madhyamikas* in the interpretation of the main concepts in Buddhist doctrine.

After Shcherbatskoy and Obermiller, scholars of Buddhism began to take a serious interest in *Prajnaparamita* texts, so vital to the understanding of the changes that took place in the teaching of the later *Mahayana* school.

We owe to Shcherbatskoy the publication of the Sanskrit original text (and its Tibetan translation) attributed to Nagarjuna, "Refutation of the view of

God being the creator of the world, and of the view of Vishnu being the sole creator of the whole world."

Working on translations, Shcherbatskoy had a particular approach when rendering the most difficult concepts of Indian and Tibetan philosophical works. He did not aim at a literal, word for word translation, but at an adequate rendering of the original by conveying its meaning. He was faced with serious difficulties in that he needed to understand correctly texts whose true content European scholars of Buddhism had been unable to unriddle for many decades. Translations, he noted, were frightening in their hopeless ignorance, but this, of course, was explained by insuffícent acquaintance with the range of ideas and their technical symbols, which were second nature to a Buddhist.

Shcherbatskoy gives his own approach to analysis of philosophical texts: "Sanskrit scientific works are not supposed to be read, but to be studied, their style is laconic, and their technical terms suggestive of wide connotation. Their translation, in order to be comprehensible, should be, to a certain extent, an explanation."

His scholarly legacy also included a number of works in other fields of Indology. He translated into Russian Dandin's romance *Dashakumaracarita* (Adventures of Ten Princes), separate parts of the *Arthashastra*, and headed a special group for the translation and investigation of this remarkable treatise. A translation of Varadaraja's grammar *Laghu-siddhanta-kaumudi* is preserved among his papers. He was also the author of a very interesting article "Scientific Achievements of Ancient India",* published in 1924, which gives a survey of the most significant achievements of Indians in the development of various sciences and sets forth important general propositions on the character of ancient Indian culture. He emphasises the specific development of philosophy and points out the need for an all-round study of it. "The strongest side of Indian scholarship is philosophy. This field is still far from being fully known to us," he wrote. "One may even say that the veil over the colossal riches of Indian philosophical thought has hardly been lifted." He studied various cosmogonic systems which gradually traversed the path from "mythological conceptions to distinctive scientific theories". He refers to *Sankhya* as scientific theory and describes the basic ideas of its philosophers on the universe. He particularly stresses its materialist elements, for according to *Sankhya* "the whole complex process of evolution is accomplished by matter from out of its own forces without any outside interference or control of a conscious will". His particular attention was attracted by the atomic theories of the ancient Indians, and he examined at length both the system of the *Vaisheshikas*, in which the atomic theory is evolved in great detail, and the atomism of the Jainas and Buddhists. The article also contains interesting facts about the development of medicine, chemistry, botany, mathematics and astronomy in ancient India. He deals with the most important discoveries made by Indian scholars, which in a number of instances anticipated the conclusions arrived at by European science in modern times. "In the field of mathematics," he wrote, "the achievements of the Indians are the greatest as compared with those of the other ancient peoples."

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* This article was translated into English by Harish C. Gupta and published in Calcutta in 1969 (*Papers of Th. Stcherbatsky*).

His article "History of Materialism in India"* (1927) retains its scientific importance to this day. It was the first special work on this problem in Russian and Soviet Indology and laid the foundations for the elaboration of the given question in Soviet Indology. "Like all other Indian teachings," he wrote, "Indian materialism was the speciality of a specific school, which preserved its traditions, developed its teachings and put them into practice." His work was directed against the idea of an all-embracing spiritualism of Indian philosophy, and he came out against those scholars who considered materialism to be an accidental and uncharacteristic phenomenon. "Nowhere, one might say, has the spirit of negation of and resentment to the fetters of traditional morals and the religion connected thereto been expressed so clearly as among the Indian materialists." Shcherbatskoy not only set out the basic conceptions of the materialists but also quoted sources showing the dissemination and influence of this school. Moreover, he succeeded in displaying extracts from the works of materialists which were unknown to Indology before his researches (from the work of Jayantabhatta *Nyayamanjari* and Vacaspati Mishra's commentary on *Nyayasutra*). In these, as in his other works, his historical approach to the study of phenomena of Indian culture, his deep penetration into the essence of the processes going on in social development, are clearly displayed. Evaluating Shcherbatskoy's works, S. Oldenburg noted that Shcherbatskoy showed convincingly how "deeply mistaken was the assertion that Indian culture was the creation of dreamers, devoid of historical conceptions. Shcherbatskoy proves brilliantly in all his works how logical and precise is the thinking of Indian scholars, reflecting as it does the social and class relations in their country at different times."

In his Introduction to the publication of Shcherbatskoy's works Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya quotes an excerpt from Rahula Sankrityayana's *Jin-ka main krtajna*, published in Hindi (Allahabad, 1957), in which the latter wrote: "In 1929, when I asked Professor Lüders of Berlin, whom I met in Ceylon, 'Who is the greatest scholar in Europe of Indian—particularly Buddhist—philosophy?', he, without a moment's hesitation said: 'Dr. Stcherbatsky.' In 1932, Sylvain Lévi also told me the same thing."

Shcherbatskoy was not only a first-class research worker but a brilliant teacher too. His system of teaching Sanskrit was strictly worked out, and it is well known how he arranged the programme for student Indologists, studying Sanskrit: in the first year they worked from Bühler's textbook, which, incidentally, Shcherbatskoy had himself published in Russian; in the second year they read the *Meghaduta* by Kalidasa with Mallinatha's commentary; in the third year, the *Shakuntala* and the philosophical text *Tarka-bhasha* and Panini's grammar, and in the fourth year the *Dashakumaracarita* and the *Kadambari* by Bana.

The preparation of a qualified staff of Indologists and scholars of Buddhist studies is associated with the name of Shcherbatskoy. Such well-known specialists in Oriental studies as Yevgeny Obermiller, Mikhail Tubyansky, Andrei Vostrikov, Boris Semichov were all his pupils. Vladimir Kalyanov, a pupil of his, is actively working on ancient Indian epic literature in Leningrad. Several representatives of contemporary Soviet Indology had the good fortune to attend his lectures and study Sanskrit under him. Speaking of Shcherbatskoy's contribution to the development of science, Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya considers this aspect of his activity, the training of a whole galaxy of specialists, to be of particular importance. "Stcherbatsky trained a generation of brilliant scholars to follow up his line of research, while in India there had practically been no outstanding scholar to continue Vidyabhushana's work, at least not in any big way."

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* An English translation of this article was published in the *Papers of Th. Stcherbatsky*.

Shcherbatskoy's plans for the extension of Indological research in the USSR were extensive and multifarious. He especially stood up for the study of Indian philosophical thought and Oriental philosophy in general. A note which he presented to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the last years of his life is preserved among his papers. It reads: "All Oriental Studies sections should be united in a project for philosophical study of the East, for a study of the philosophical and cultural heritage common to all countries of the East... One must acknowledge India to be the source of the philosophical ideas of the whole East. At various times there flowed out from there periodic waves of thought which captured both East and West... The time has come to accomplish a survey of this powerful movement and try to create, on the one hand, its history, and on the other, what one might call its inventory, that is a catalogue of philosophical ideas, formulated precisely, which at various times and periods possessed the minds of Eastern nations."

Many of his plans were still unfulfilled at the time of his death. He died in March 1942, in Northern Kazakhstan, where many scholars had been evacuated after nazi Germany's predatory attack on the USSR in June 1941. His scholarly plans and his research were carried on and are being carried on by the new generation of Soviet Indologists. On the centenary of his birth a special commemorative session was held in Moscow and Leningrad, the material from which was included in the collection *Indian Culture and Buddhism* published subsequently.

Both specialists and all who are interested in the great heritage of Indian culture will long turn to Shcherbatskoy's works—it was to the study of this great heritage that he devoted his life. The spirit of his scholarly creativity is expressed in the words carved on his tombstone: "He explained the wisdom of ancient Indian thinkers to his own country."

# Chapter V: Main Stages of Indological Research in the USSR

The years 1917-1920 may be called truly heroic, not merely in the history of the Soviet country as a whole, but in the history of its science too. The economy of Russia, after three years of the First World War (1914-1917), was completely disrupted; a large part of the country was occupied by the invaders. The Soviet state was faced with the task of spreading literacy among the population and the country was in dire need of primers, for both children and adults. During the Civil War and the economic dislocation that followed, there was not enough paper and books were printed on wallpaper. Nevertheless, scientific work did not cease nor did cultural life come to a standstill. The famous British author H.G. Wells visited Soviet Russia soon after the end of the Civil War, and later wrote the book *Russia in the Shadows*, in which he noted that in the country, under the most difficult conditions, culture was being preserved. He was particularly struck by the immensity of the plans and undertakings, by the scope of cultural creativity.

The socialist revolution raised the question of the need to preserve the cultural heritage, and one of the first laws of Soviet power was the decree signed by Lenin on the preservation of ancient monuments. Soon after the Great October Socialist Revolution a special Board for Museums and the Preservation of Ancient Monuments was set up in the People's Commissariat for Education. Outstanding Orientalists, including Academician Sergei Oldenburg, were on the staff of this board. Local committees for the preservation of ancient monuments and art were formed in various localities and became important organisational centres for cultural studies. It was decided in 1918 to establish a new museum, the Museum of Oriental Arts, in Moscow. It was officially opened on Septemer 22, 1919, and was the only museum in the country entirely devoted to the East. Indological works were published even during this difficult period. Subsequent issues of "Bibliotheca Buddhica" were published in Petrograd in 1918, among them: *Nyayabindu. A Buddhist Treatise on Logic by Dharmakirti*, along with Dharmottara's commentary—the *Nyayabindutika*, the publication by Shcherbatskoy of the Sanskrit text, and the *Sphutartha-abhidharmakosha-vyakhya* by Yashomitra, the text prepared and edited by Shcherbatskoy jointly with the famous French Indologist S. Lévi. In 1920 Tiflis (now Tbilisi) University published a book by G. Akhvlediani

*Sanskrit. A Short Grammar with Excerpts From Classical Sanskrit and the Rigveda*, the first post-revolutionary publication on Sanskrit studies. A catalogue of Indian manuscripts in the Russian Public Library, prepared by N. Mironov, was published in 1918. In a commemorative booklet, published by the Asiatic Museum on the occasion of its centenary (1918), there was a survey of the museum's Oriental manuscripts, in which particular attention was paid to the significance of the collection of Indian texts from Central Asia (Eastern Turkestan), and the task of studying them was set. In 1918 two volumes of Rosenberg's *Introduction to the Study of Buddhism through Japanese and Chinese Sources*, a fundamental research work, were published. Major problems of Buddhist philosophy and its basic concepts were studied deeply and creatively, approaches to the history of Buddhism and the methodology of its research, that were new in principle, were advanced. Rosenberg's book marked a new stage in the development of Buddhist studies. The third volume, devoted to Buddhist literature, remained unpublished because of the sudden death of the young scholar.

Researches into and translations of Buddhist texts were published in literary miscellanies and collections as well as in publications of the Academy of Sciences. This is evidence of the growth, among wide circles of the intelligentsia, of interest in Oriental studies, Indological and Buddhist subjects, and of the great attention given by the leaders of Soviet scholarship in those difficult years to the continuation of the glorious traditions of Russian Oriental studies. The Soviet Government, headed by V. I. Lenin, constantly assisted its scholars in developing Indological research.

Indian terms, names and images gained spread in scientific and publicistic works and fiction of the day. The spiritual and artistic creativity of the East aroused particular interest and enthusiasm among representatives of Russian culture. The remarkable Russian artist N. Roerich was abroad during the Civil War years, but his creative and public activities can be understood only in the context of Russian art and culture. In 1920 he was working on a series of panels *Eastern Dreams*. His interest in the East, and particularly in India, was maintained due to his links with Russian Indologists, and his acquaintance with their works.

In contrast to the tsarist government's policy of oppressing national minorities, the Soviet Government put forward an extensive programme for national and racial equality. Scholars were set the task of spreading literacy among the previously backward nations of Russia, and of developing their cultures. Orientalists gave great help in this difficult work by travelling to Central Asia, the Caucasus and Buryatia and getting to know the traditions of the local population, and took an active part in transforming the outlying regions of Russia.

As previously mentioned, the first exhibition of Buddhist relics was opened in August 1919 in Petrograd (formerly St Petersburg). On display were items of art, religion, writing and the daily life of the peoples of the countries where Buddhism was professed, that is China and Japan, Tibet and Mongolia, India and Ceylon. Two lectures were given at the opening of the exhibition. Oldenburg called his lecture: "The Life of the Buddha, the Great Teacher of Life". Shcherbatskoy gave a description of "The Philosophical Doctrine of Buddhism". Later on lectures were also given by B. Vladimirtsov, "Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia", and by Rosenberg, "The World Outlook of Contemporary Buddhism in the Far East". The Board for Museums and the Preservation of Ancient Monuments published these lectures in separate brochures, and also Oldenburg's general review: "The First Exhibition of Buddhist Relics in St Petersburg". It is important to visualise the conditions of those days. August 1919 was one of the most difficult and critical moments of the Civil War in Russia. The industrial centres of the Urals had only just been liberated from the White Guards, but tsarist General Denikin's armies were in the South and from there they were preparing to launch an attack on Moscow. At the same time General Yudenich's White Guard forces were preparing for an attack on Petrograd. Yet it was in those days, so arduous for the Soviet state, that the first exhibition of Buddhist relics was proving a great success in Petrograd and prominent Russian Orientalists were giving lectures on Buddhism. The brochures that were put out present a clear picture of how the organisers of the exhibition interpreted Buddhism, and what in the culture of ancient India could evoke the interest of its visitors. Sergei Oldenburg, relating the legends about the life and teaching of the Buddha, emphasised: "The most important thing for man is to understand why he is living and, having understood, to know how to live in order to fulfil the aim of his life." He mentioned the age-old traditions of Buddhist studies in Russia, the importance of Buddhism in the culture of Asia, in particular those regions which were part of Russia. In his lecture Oldenburg pointed out the importance of Indian culture to all mankind. Shcherbatskoy, in his lecture, stressed that one can find in early Buddhism, "in the practical sphere, negation of the right to private property, negation of national narrow outlook, universal fraternity of all peoples, without the right to private property, and finally, unfailing faith, common and necessary to all alike, that we are moving, and should move towards perfection..." Rosenberg, in his lecture, spoke about the link connecting East and West and pointed to the fact that the abyss between them was "not all that deep".

It is easy to see that all of them, essentially, had a similar approach to Buddhism, they all idealised Buddhism to a greater or lesser degree. Nevertheless, it is important at present to emphasise another aspect—the interest of Orientalists, and of the St Petersburg intelligentsia viewing the exhibition, in the East, in India and Buddhism was least of all a purely academic curiosity. They tried to find in Buddhism ideas close to their own day. A similar perception of the East was characteristic of the majority of scholars, writers and artists. Modern science can hardly fully agree to the interpretation of Buddhist philosophy by Shcherbatskoy and his colleagues. But the most remarkable thing is that these views were to serve the noble aims of the equality and fraternity of nations. The outstanding Russian Indologists and scholars of Buddhism were active builders of the new life, and helped to confirm the new ideals.

In response to Lenin's inquiry, A. Lunacharsky, People's Commissar of Education, wrote about Shcherbatskoy: "...He is a wonderful scholar, who has written a splendid brochure on Buddhism, in which he treats Buddhism from the socialist standpoint (rejection of individual egoism and of private property, the acquiring of peace of mind and the attainment of joy in social harmony)".

The first post-revolution years were a period of enthusiastic cultural construction, a time of extensive and fruitful beginnings. Under the People's Commissariat for Education a special publishing house Vsemirnaya Literatura (World Literature) was set up in Petrograd in 1918 for the publication of the best works of world literature. This publishing house, headed by the outstanding Soviet writer Maxim Gorky, published Oriental literary works with the active co-operation of Professor S. Oldenburg, who, in particular, wrote a survey "Indian Literature" for the collection *Literature of the East*, which came out in 1919.

During the Civil War Soviet Russia had to battle against the military intervention of the imperialist states, and at the same time act as a defender of the awakening colonial East. In Russian literature of those years the question of Russia's attitudes to the East and to the West arose once again. The assertion that Russia was a country more Asian than European had spread. "Yes, we are Asiatics," wrote Alexander Blok, the remarkable Russian poet. The role played by Russia—belonging as she did simultaneously to Europe and Asia, both geographically and culturally—in the synthesis of cultural traditions of the West and the East, in their unification, was at times emphasised.

In 1919 a work which had been prepared for publication before the revolution by the Buryat scholar G. Tsybikov, entitled *A Buddhist Pilgrim in the Holy Places of Tibet*, was published. The author had made a journey to Tibet in 1899-1902, on behalf of the Russian Geographical Society, in the guise of a Buddhist pilgrim. This richly illustrated book was one of the first descriptions of Tibet, its monuments, way of life, customs and faiths of the population to be published. It has retained its scholarly importance to the present day, and together with other works by Tsybikov was republished in 1981. In September 1918, one of the most difficult months for the Soviet Republic, Sergei Oldenburg wrote a foreword to this work: "G. Tsybikov's book is appearing at an exceptionally difficult time, a time when it might seem that there is no place in Russia for descriptions of pilgrimages to far-off lands; we nevertheless consider it essential to publish this book now, as the best proof that the true Russia is alive and working in the full consciousness of her spiritual strength, united and uniting dozens of nations and nationalities and almost two hundred million people; written by a Buryat, graduate of a Russian university, edited by Russians and published by the Russian Geographical Society, G. Tsybikov's book is a clear expression of the cultural unification by Russia of West and East in a common work." Thus Oriental studies, and in particular Indological research and publications, were regarded at that time as an important national and cultural task.

## 1. *Indology in the 1920s -1930s*

Huge organisational work and the setting of Oriental studies on new lines was underway in Soviet Russia in the 1920s. The Asiatic Museum in Petrograd (Leningrad) remained the basic centre of Oriental studies, gradually being transformed from a fund of manuscripts and books into a research institute. The scale of work of this establishment increased year by year, and its tasks changed. Petrograd University was closely connected with the Asiatic Museum as the Oriental courses were usually taught by members of the museum staff. Indologists were also working in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, and in the State Institute of Art History, founded in 1921. Oldenburg conducted courses on the culture of India and the Far East there. Public lectures on the history of the culture of the peoples of the East, given by leading Orientalists and Indologists such as Oldenburg, Shcherbatskoy, Tubyansky and others, were very popular at the beginning of the 1920s.

The Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture was formed on the basis of the Russian State Archaeological Commission, with Academician N. Marr as its president (Academician S. Oldenburg was a member of the leading staff). The new scientific establishment differed in principle from the old Archaeological Commission. It did not limit itself to searching for and collecting antiquities, but endeavoured to make general historical tasks its first concern. Many of its workers, in their search for a methodology of the social sciences, turned to Marxism, and the Academy became an important school for Soviet Orientalists as well as archaeologists.

The teaching of Sanskrit and the study of Sanskrit sources was started in a number of other cities besides Petrograd, for instance, Moscow (M. Peterson), Tbilisi (G. Akhvlediani), and Kharkov (P. Ritter). In the majority of cases Sanskrit was regarded as an essential discipline for the comparative-historical study of Indo-European languages.

The Moscow Museum of Oriental Arts was reorganised in 1925 and renamed the Museum of Oriental Cultures, and it soon sent its first scientific expedition to Termez. The expedition had as its aim, in particular, the study of Buddhist relics, and this initiated archaeological research of Buddhist relics in Soviet Central Asia.

In the 1920s leading Orientalists, primarily from the Petrograd academic school, were united under a Collegium of Orientalists. Another association existed, which simultaneously became the centre of the new, Marxist Oriental studies, the All-Russia (later All-Union) Scientific Association of Oriental Studies, organised in the beginning under the People's Commissariat of Nationalities. Lenin paid great attention to the creation of this association. In 1922 the association began publishing the magazine *Novy Vostok* (The New Orient). It contained materials and researches devoted mainly to the contemporary situation in the Asian countries. It also contained materials about problems of methodology, and the formation of general concepts of Marxist Oriental studies went on in it.

Everyone knows what great importance the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet State V.I. Lenin attached to the struggle of the Asian countries against colonialism, and in particular to the national liberation movement in India. He perspicaciously pointed out that "the awakening of Asia and the beginning of the struggle for power by the advanced proletariat of Europe are a symbol of the new phase in world history that began early this century". Lenin stressed that the British system of government in India was characterised by violence and plunder, and considered the oppressed peoples of Asia to be the natural allies of the class-conscious workers of Europe. It was precisely this position that formed the base of the Soviet state's policy, and it was these principles that Marxist Oriental studies follow. The activity of the association was examined in the leading article of the first number of their magazine *Novy Vostok*, in the following words: "The moment has arrived when, more than at any other time, it is essential to create a properly organised study of the East... Contemporary Russia-Eurasia is first and foremost a teacher, the leader of an East suffering in the chains of spiritual and economic slavery, fighting for a better future. Moscow is the Mecca and Medina for all enslaved peoples. And if even for the crude conqueror-cum-oppressor and greedy merchant it is essential, for the maintenance of his rule in the given country, to study the latter, to know the economic and social structure, the whole way of life of the exploited peoples,the more essentials is that knowledge to him whom history has given the responsibility of being the teacher and leader of backward peoples in the struggle for liberation from all forms of slavery."

The Soviet state was faced with vast tasks connected with the East, both within the country–the correct conduct of the nationalities policy–and abroad–the task of the developing, by all possible means, of contacts with Asian states and national liberation movements. There was an urgent need for qualified Soviet diplomats and specialists to work in Eastern countries, and for a study of the economy, modern history, revolutionary and national liberation movements in the Asian countries. In the 1920s revolutionaries from the countries of Asia, including India, were living in Soviet Russia, and they were also drawn into the work of organising Soviet Oriental studies. In the field of practical studies one had to start from the beginning. In tsarist Russia, despite the numerous proposals from prominent Orientalists, no provision was made for the study of modern Oriental languages, in particular Indian languages. During the Civil War an Institute of Living Oriental Languages (later on it became the Leningrad Oriental Institute), "a practical academy" of Oriental studies, as it were, was established. Indologists received their grounding in one of its departments where Shcherbatskoy, Oldenburg, Barannikov and other eminent Orientalists taught, and where occasionally Indian teachers were drawn into the work. Urdu, Bengali and Tamil, as well as Sanskrit, were studied. In addition to courses in social sciences, there were courses on the history of Oriental culture and the philosophical schools of the East. In this way the Institute tried to give its students a general education in the field of Oriental studies, and became one of the major centres in the USSR for the training of Indologists. Textbooks of everyday Tamil and Urdu were published, and Bühler's Sanskrit textbook was translated into Russian and serves as a basic textbook for students even today.

Marxist historiography of the 1920s-1930s had just begun to concentrate attention on the history of the ancient Orient. Characteristic is the book by the legal expert M. Reisner *Ideologies of the East. Studies in Eastern Theocracy*, published in 1927, in which the chapters on ancient India form a large part. The author tried to formulate and solve from the Marxist point of view such problems as the essence of the caste system, the correlation between castes and classes, the origins of castes and their connection with the tribal system in India, the social essence of Buddhism, etc. The work was written primarily on the basis of Western researches, with occasional use of translations of Sanskrit texts into European languages. Many of Reisner's views seem naive nowadays. Nevertheless M. Reisner's interest in the problems of social ideology and the social structure of ancient India is extremely distinctive.

Lively discussions on the question of the social and economic structure in the East were going on among Marxist scholars in the years from 1928 to 1930. Indian material was rarely quoted in the discussions, and the history of ancient India was not studied on a sufficiently wide scale in the Soviet Union in those days. Nevertheless these discussions had essential significance for the formation of common conceptions among Soviet Orientalists and, in particular, had an influence on subsequent research into the history of ancient India. During

A. P. Barannikov

the discussions of Soviet scholars the problem of social and economic formation was in the centre of attention, and it was precisely determined that the development of countries in the East followed exactly the same paths as that of the West.

The most important publication of academic Oriental studies in the first half of the 1920s was the magazine *Vostok* (The East). The general line of the magazine was determined by the head editor Sergei Oldenburg. In an introductory article to the first number, which appeared in 1922, he developed the idea of the similarity and closeness of East and West, and the unity of human history. He wrote that "the attainments of the East are not less, often even higher, than those of the West" and that the East displayed "the exceptional power of the human spirit".

M. Tubyansky, representative of the younger generation of Indologists, in a review on Glasenapp's book on Hinduism sharply censured the German scholar for exaggerating the role of religion and mysticism in the spiritual life of India. He wrote: "The trite maxim that in India everything is 'mystical', is not only grievously mistaken in itself and therefore should be banned from any book on India that has any claim to scholarship, it is dangerous in the highest degree for the interpretation and evaluation of all concrete facts relating to the field of Indology." Tubyansky was highly appreciative of the works of Russian Indologists and of Indian researchers which showed the enormous attainments of ancient India in various fields of philosophy and other sciences and the fine arts. Thanks to these works, he noted, "the fog of mysticism has been dispersed and there has been opened to us the history of a vast, thousand-years-long persistent working of the strictly logical thinking of Indians in the diverse fields of abstract knowledge". Tubyansky was one of the first Indologists to acquaint readers with modern Indian literature. He translated for the magazine *Vostok* the Bengali poets—the lyric poetry of Rabindranath Tagore and *Bande Mataram* of Chattopadhyaya.

S. Oldenburg advanced the idea of the need for research into the concrete economic history of India, into her complicated social life, agriculture and crafts, and the industry and trade of the towns. He said that it was high time to do away with the legend that India appeared specifically as a country of religion, for "without knowledge and understanding of Indian economic life we shall never understand India and her complex history". Here the new approach to the East can be clearly traced: a trend which subsequently became paramount in Soviet Indology. In the 1920s and 1930s it was not only in Soviet historiography that close attention began to be paid to social and economic problems of ancient history, a number of scholars from other countries were also investigating them. To the honour of Indian scholarship it must be acknowledged that it already had a number of achievements in this field in the 1920s. S. Oldenburg attentively studied the publications by Indian scholars (R. Majumdar, Pran Nath, N.C. Bandyopadhyaya) of their research in the social and economic history of ancient India and published surveys of their works in Soviet magazines.

However, the general sphere of interest of the authors of the *Vostok* remained the traditional one for academic Oriental studies—the study of the culture (mainly of the literature) of the East. In this sense the magazine did a great deal. Mention should be made of the publication, for example, of the best works of classical Indian literature. A translation of Dandin's romance *Adventures of Ten Princes*, made by Shcherbatskoy, was published in the *Vostok*.

Work on the translation of Sanskrit literature was being done not only in Petrograd and not only by scholars who were contributors to the *Vostok*. Together with Shcherbatskoy the Kharkov Sanskrit scholar P. Ritter published a translation of Dandin's romance in the 1920s. He also compiled an anthology of Indian poetry—translations from Sanskrit, Pali and Bengali. In the 1920s A. Barannikov made a translation of the *Jatakamala* by Arya Shura, however it was published only several decades later. Another of Shcherbatskoy's pupils was B. Larin, later a prominent Soviet linguist, who, working in the 1920s on Indian poetics, translated Vamana's treatise and published his research about the symbol in Indian poetry.

In 1927 the State Institute of Art History organised an exhibition "The Theatre of Eastern Peoples", and then published the book *Theatre of the Orient*. The section on the Indian theatre was written by A. Mervart, who had conducted a special research into this subject. He found the sources of the classical Indian theatre in folk performances, and in this respect his conclusions were close to Oldenburg's notion of the development of Buddhist narrative literature. Mervart's study of the Indian folk theatre was a continuation of the work begun by I. Minayev, who had studied Indian folk performances. Mervart was one of the few Soviet specialists in the field of Indian ethnography, having spent several years in Ceylon and India (1914-1918). He and his wife were pioneers in the study of Southern India in the Soviet Union, and he often stressed the fact that ancient Indian culture could not be properly understood without taking into account the contribution of the Dravidian peoples.

The most outstanding Soviet Indologist was Academician Fyodor Shcherbatskoy, to whom a special chapter of this book is devoted. Here we would just like to note that he was not only a brilliant scholar but was also a teacher, who, in the 1920s, trained a splendid galaxy of young Orientalists. In Leningrad University and the Oriental Institute he taught Sanskrit, Pali and the Tibetan languages, and trained specialists in the history of Indian philosophy, religion and literature. As distinct from many European Sanskrit scholars he had a high regard for traditional Indian grammar and methods of language teaching. When studying Sanskrit, a language with a living tradition, a language that had been worked over and polished by generations of Indian scholars, to rely only on the attainments of European comparative-historical linguistics seemed to him a mistake. Shcherbatskoy's principle in the teaching of Sanskrit was a combination of the attainments of modern linguistics with the traditional approach of Indian scholars. It was not mere chance that led him to translate Varadaraja's grammar—the *Laghusiddhantakaumudi*. He thought that without a knowledge of Indian traditions (not only in grammar, but also in aesthetics, logic, etc.) one could not possibly have a true understanding of a text.

Among his pupils were such brilliant specialists in Indian, Tibetan and Mongolian cultures as Y. Obermiller, M. Tubyansky and A. Vostrikov. Their enthusiasm for Buddhism and Indology was to a great extent determined by the general interest in the spiritual culture of the East. A reflection of those times can be felt in the works on Sanskrit studies by Academician B. Smirnov (Academy of Sciences of the Turkmen SSR), published in the 1950s. He began to study Sanskrit in 1918.

A decision to set up an Institute of Buddhist Culture was taken in 1928. Following this decision, Leningrad scholars of Buddhism directed attention to the importance of studying Buddhism in order to understand the social life of many Asian peoples. Shcherbatskoy was appointed Director of the Institute of Buddhist Culture, and an Academic Council of twenty-four, half of whom were leading scholars of Buddhism from West European and Asian countries, was set up. Soviet scholarship was represented by the Sinologist V. Alekseyev, the specialist in Mongol studies B. Vladimirtsov, S. Oldenburg and other prominent Indologists. The Institute planned to begin wide-ranging international work on the publication of regular issues of the "Bibliotheca Buddhica", other publications, translations and researches. It consisted of two sections, one of which was engaged in the study of India, Tibet and Mongolia, the other, of China and Japan. The Institute of Buddhist Culture continued to exist until 1930 when all Oriental studies establishments of the Academy of Sciences were amalgamated into a single Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The creation of the Institute marked a qualitatively new stage in the development of Soviet scholarship. For the first time there was an opportunity to plan the development of work in the field of Oriental studies over the whole country. The study of the history and the economy of Eastern countries in the modern and recent periods was given special attention in the plans of the Institute, along with the study of the development of the national liberation movement. The problem of studying the history of Eastern countries, in both ancient and medieval times, was also on the agenda. The work begun by the Institute of Buddhist Culture was carried on by the Indo-Tibetan

Y. Y. Obermiller

Section of the Institute of Oriental Studies headed by Shcherbatskoy (the staff of this section was composed basically of research workers from the Institute). The first director of the Institute, S. Oldenburg, was of great help in this work.

We shall now dwell in short on the work of the Institute of Buddhist Culture, the Indo-Tibetan Section and Shcherbatskoy's young students and colleagues. Most fruitful was the scientific work of Y. Obermiller (1901-1935), who studied Sanskrit under Shcherbatskoy in Petrograd University, attended courses on the history of Indian literature and philosophy, and read poetic and scientific texts. Specialising in the history and philosophy of Buddhism, he had to learn the Tibetan and Mongolian languages. His first work was the drawing up of a Sanskrit-Tibetan and Tibetan-Sanskrit index to the *Nyayabindu* of Dharmakirti. He made several journeys to the Transbaikal region, to Buryat monasteries where he discovered some unique Buddhist texts. It was here that he perfected his knowledge of the Tibetan language, of Sanskrit and Tibetan literature and Buddhist philosophy. In 1928 he became a research worker in the Institute of Buddhist Culture but unfortunately two years later, due to a severe disease, he became an invalid. Over the next few years, up to his death in 1935, he was not only unable to move but even to write. He managed to do a surprising amount of work over eight years in extremely difficult circumstances: he wrote thirty scholarly works, totalling some 100 quires, besides a number of unfinished ones. Among Obermiller's published works are his translation of Buston's Tibetan *History of Buddhism*, in two volumes, and a series of works on the Prajnaparamita. In collaboration with Shcherbatskoy he published the Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation of the *Abhisamayalankara*. Obermiller's monographic research of this text was published in Calcutta. He was well known in India and was a contributor to Indian journals. His work on the Buddhist conceptions of *nirvana* and *shunyata* was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. The Greater India Society, headed by Rabindranath Tagore, elected him as member.

Another of Shcherbatskoy's pupils, M. Tubyansky (1893-1943), was a major specialist in such fields of Oriental studies as Sanskrit and Bengali literature, Indian, Tibetan and Mongol linguistics, and the history of philosophy and Buddhism. In the 1920s he was one of the first teachers of modern Indian languages, Bengali and Hindi, as well as Sanskrit. His first major work is connected with the study of the *Nyayapravesha* and Buddhist treatises on logic. He prepared an edition of a Sanskrit text with the use of Chinese and Tibetan versions. He worked for a long time in the Tibetan Studies Section of the Scientific Research Committee of the Mongolian People's Republic. In Mongolia he discovered the Sanskrit text *Catuhstava*, which was thought to have been lost, and prepared a translation with commentaries. He worked on the translation of *A Chronicle of Buddhism in India, Tibet and Mongolia* by Sumpakhanpo, on a Tibetan-Mongol dictionary, a glossary-cum-handbook on Indian and Tibetan medicine, and also on a research dedicated to Indian materialism according to Tibetan sources. As a result of his premature death a large number of his works remained either unfinished or unpublished.

A. Vostrikov (1904-1942) was engaged primarily in Tibetan studies, nevertheless he did quite a lot in the field of Indology proper. Like other pupils of Shcherbatskoy he wrote about Dharmakirti's philosophy, and his work on Uddyotakara's *Nyayavartika* and Dharmakirti's *Vadanyaya* was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. In 1934 his extensive monograph on the logic of Vasubandhu was accepted for publication in India. In 1936-1937, together with Shcherbatskoy he studied the Sanskrit *Kalacakra*. He succeeded in preparing for press a collated text from two manuscripts and a Tibetan translation, but he did not complete the Russian translation and commentary.

B. Semichov (1900-1981) published a translation of the philosophical treatise *Karmasiddhi*, and prepared a research work on the medicinal plants of India and Tibet. In the later years of his life, he devoted particular attention to problems of Tibetan linguistics.

The last great undertaking of the Shcherbatskoy school was the translation of the fundamental treatise *Madhyantavibhanga* of the *Yogacaras*. Its first part, published in 1936, was the 30th issue of the famous "Bibliotheca Buddhica".

After the setting up of the Institute of Oriental Studies, historical as well as philosophical and Buddhist themes were included in the plans of the Indo-Tibetan Section. They were set the task of studying the social history of ancient India and primarily that of translating the most important Sanskrit and Pali sources. The *Arthashastra* by Kautilya and the Pali *Jatakas* were selected as such sources. A group of scholars, consisting of Shcherbatskoy, Oldenburg, Obermiller and Semichov, had basically completed the Russian translation of the *Arthashastra* by 1932 (it was published in 1959). Oldenburg, who planned the work, rightly considered that scientific investigation of the problems of the social structure in ancient India must begin with the translation and analysis of the most important sources. However, the content of the *Arthashastra* was not the main interest of the translators and the translation was not accompanied by any special analysis. Neither Shcherbatskoy himself nor his colleagues were inclined to carry out research in the field of ancient Indian social history.

The role of Indian subjects in the work of the Indo-Tibetan Section gradually increased, primarily because of a growth of the number of themes on modern India. The Indian scholars A. Mukharjee and B.C. Chattopadhyaya also worked in the section in the 1930s. Academician A. Barannikov was an active champion of the study of modern Indian languages and modern Indian literature, and in 1936 a special New Indian Section was set up under his guidance. The Indo-Tibetan Section was soon divided into two separate groups—the Indian and the Tibetan.

The study of Indian culture and that of neighbouring countries by Shcherbatskoy's school undoubtedly suffered from one-sidedness. In the 1930s it was justly reproached for not paying sufficient attention to problems of ancient Indian history, in particular, social and economic problems, and for ignoring questions of contemporary Indian culture. At times there was in the work of this trend an idealisation of Buddhist religion. Nevertheless, now that several decades have already passed, the attention of researchers is drawn not to the weakness of this school but to its achievements. The Leningrad school, like no other national school of Buddhist studies, did a great deal for the study of so-called Northern Buddhism in India itself and beyond its borders. Shcherbatskoy and his students had discovered and introduced into scholarly stream new or little-known texts. They made a great contribution to the elucidation of the basic concepts of Buddhist world outlook and philosophy, revealed the significance of Buddhism in the history of Indian culture and the influence of India on the spiritual life of the whole of Central and East Asia.

Research into problems of the ancient Indian cultural legacy was raised by them to its due mark. The true path of scholarly work in the field of ancient Indian history was marked out by the translation of the *Arthashastra*.

Among the linguists directly concerned with India the names of R. Shor and I. Frank-Kamenetsky are important. Shor translated the *Pancatantra* (1930), and the *Vetalapancavimshatika* (1939). Her literary studies are in a mature academic spirit. Analysing the correlation of various versions of the *Vetalapancavimshatika*, she decided on the primacy of the metrical wording and tried to discover the influence of the *Brihatkatha* by Gunadhya and the lost literature in the Prakrits, and in general emphasised the connection of the "tale within a tale" with oral folk tradition. Typical of the literature of the 1920s and 1930s is that attention of researchers is concentrated on the definition of the narrative technique and the stylistic means of the "tale within a tale", as well as on typological comparisons with Western novels. I. Frank-Kamenetsky devoted a series of works to the typological analysis of Indian mythology, in particular, a comparison of the myths of Adam and Purusha. In connection with the problem of poetic language he also examined the metaphors and imagery of Indian literature.

Some general conceptions of Soviet Oriental studies, particularly in the area of the history of the ancient East, were expressed in 1931, in Oldenburg's work *East and West in Soviet Conditions*. S. Oldenburg maintained: "For us there is no division of peoples and countries into East and West, opposed to one another and studied differently. The East entered our union on equal terms with the West and we study it with just the same Marxist methodology as we study the West. The class struggle went on, and is going on, in the East just as it is in the West. The history of the East went through the same stages as did the history of the West." In this formulation it is not difficult to observe, on the one hand, a continuity of the best traditions of Russian Oriental studies, and on the other, the ideas of the unity of the historical processes in the East and the West based on the Marxist conception of socio-economic formations. By the beginning of the 1930s the idea of a special path of development of the East (so-called Asiatic mode of production characterised by unusual stagnation, despotism and the absence of private ownership of land) had already been decisively rejected in Soviet scholarship. The idea that the Eastern countries had passed through just the same socio-economic formations as the Western countries had taken firm roots. Antiquity was regarded as a period when the slave-owning formation was dominant. Initially, the dominance of slave-owning relations in the countries of the ancient East was viewed as having approximately the same forms as in the countries of the classical world. In general courses ancient India was regarded as a part of the ancient Orient. Under the ancient Orient, Soviet historiography understands not only the so-called classical Orient (the Middle East), as is customary in Western historiography, but also the countries of the Far East and South Asia, that is, all the countries of antiquity with the exception of the classical civilisations of ancient Greece and Rome. This idea reflected the general conceptions of Soviet historiography and was amplified in university courses and textbooks. In the university textbook on the history of the ancient Orient, which came out shortly before the start of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) the significance of slavery in ancient India was stressed. Although the chapter on India itself gave no clear formulation of the character of the social structure in ancient India, it was quite clear from other chapters that the slave-owning mode of production dominated in all countries of the ancient Orient. With the aim of proving the great importance of slavery in ancient India, ancient Indian shudras were at times described as slaves (or workers reduced to the condition of slaves) as was also done in the works of Indian scholars such as N. K. Sinha, A. C. Banerjee, and others.

In its entirety the Shcherbatskoy school did an enormous amount of work in the 1930s on the study of Buddhist texts of India and other Asian countries. Many researches on Sanskrit were published. The new school of Soviet Oriental studies was created, undoubted success was achieved in the organisation of science and the development of a Marxist understanding of the history of the East. By the end of the 1930s a general conception of the social history of the ancient East, including India, had been elaborated. The social and political history of India began to be expounded in general courses within the framework of this idea. However, special research in the history of ancient India was still in its initial stage.

## 2. *Postwar Years (mid-1940s to mid-1950s)*

The history of ancient India began to be studied persistently in the Soviet Union in the first postwar years and then mainly in Moscow (the centre of

Oriental studies was shifted to the capital of the USSR—Moscow, after the Great Patriotic War). For the comprehensive teaching of world history in the university it was essential to introduce courses on the history of Asian countries and to prepare teaching aids. In Moscow University the course in ancient and medieval Indian history was taught by A. Osipov. His *Short Study in India's History up to the 10th Century* came out in 1948 and for a long time it was the only generalising work on this subject in Soviet Indology. In this quite thin book an attempt was made to describe the basic stages of the social, political and cultural history of India in the period of antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In 1948, Indologist D. Suleikin devoted his paper "Fundamental Problems of the Periodisation of Ancient India" (published in 1949, in the *Proceedings of the Pacific Ocean Institute*, Vol. II) to most important theoretical problems of the social history of India. It was published in English in India, in the *Medieval Indian Quarterly* (Aligarh), and the prominent Indian scholar R. S. Sharma in his work *Shudras in Ancient India* refers to it. In 1950-1951 G. Ilyin published several articles on slavery in ancient India. They contained a detailed analysis of ancient Indian sources, basically the *Dharmashastras*, which he had read in the original (he studied Sanskrit under M. Peterson). These works are marked by knowledge of contemporary historiography, with particular attention in them paid to works of Indian authors. The latter circumstance is not accidental and is explained not only by interest in the national historiographies of Asian countries, traditional in Soviet Oriental studies, but also by the fact that, beginning with the 1920s, Indian historiography had paid great attention to problems of social and economic relations in ancient India. On a number of general questions Soviet historians carried on polemics with Indian authors, pointing, for example, to the absence of a scientifically substantiated periodisation of Indian history (D. Suleikin). A number of specific conclusions drawn by Indian historians (U. Ghoshal, R.D. Banerjee and others) were made use of by Soviet scholars.

By the end of the 1940s some general methodological principles had already been clearly established in Soviet historiography. In particular, the race theory of the origin of *varnas* was completely rejected. All Soviet researchers unanimously rejected the explanation of the emergence of *varnas* system in ancient India as a result of the "Aryan conquest", and connected the origin of *varnas* with the processes of social stratification. In polemics with some Indian scholars Soviet Indologists insisted that the problem of slavery in ancient India should be looked at first and foremost with social-economic and not moral assessments. Slavery played a most important role in the making and development of all class societies of antiquity. From the point of view of Soviet historiography the course of history, particularly Indian history, was determined not by separate individuals, not by ideas or abstract ideals, not by external influences or conquests, but by the development of the economy and social relations. All Soviet authors are unanimous in their appreciation of the driving forces in history. In A. Osipov's work, in particular, due attention is given to both the material conditions of production, the geographical environment of India, and the development of the productive forces, agriculture, crafts and trade in ancient India. Analysing the economic development, the author dwells upon the causes of the breakdown of the "patriarchal-communal system" and the rise of a class society and state. There are no differences of opinion among Soviet historians about the decisive significance of the mode of production when characterising social relations, or on the role of the state in a class society, etc. Thanks to the theory of Marxism-Leninism history has ceased to be the sum-total of separate facts, a list of ruling dynasties or an arena for the activities of great figures, the sphere of dissemination of ideas and so on; analysis of social relations enabled the history of the people itself to be studied, and it was found to have objective laws of development. Another general principle of Soviet historiography is that it is the peoples that are examined as the creators of the historical process, and they are not divided at that into "historical" and "non-historical". Thus, Osipov wrote that the "tribes and peoples of India were not alike as to the level of their cultural development, nevertheless they were all, to some extent or other, the creators of Indian history". These theses, fundamental and indisputable for Marxist historiography, testify to the development of a new school of the study of ancient India in the Soviet Union.

At the same time discussions were held on specific problems of ancient Indian history and culture such as cardinal problems of the forms of property and exploitation in ancient India, the scale of development and the role of slavery in antiquity. Relying on evidence from ancient Indian sources, and referring to Marx's well-known articles on India, A. Osipov emphasised the importance of the village community and the large undivided family in the social structure of India. In his opinion slavery played a most important role in India's history because it promoted social differentiation and the formation of the state, while the ruling classes in ancient India existed, mainly, by exploiting the village communities by means of state taxes. The exploitation of slaves did not have decisive importance. He noted that because of the absence of ancient archives on the economy of ancient India, and in view of the inelaborate treatment of these questions in historiography, any general conclusions on the social and economic system can merely be of a relative character, but obviously a developed slave-owning mode of production did not exist in ancient India. Despite the rapid growth of slave-owning relations in the Mauryan age, slavery retained its domestic nature and did not become dominant in the basic spheres of the economy. Osipov looked on state taxes as a primitive form of feudal exploitation of the village communities by the "powerful clans of military and Brahman aristocracy". In his opinion slavery in India did not carry out its progressive role to the end, did not completely destroy the patriarchal relations, did not lay the foundation for the development of private property, the wide division of labour and the separation of town and country. The rent in kind-cum-tax remained the basic form of exploitation in both ancient and medieval times.

The problem of the *varna*-caste system in India was also the subject of special examination in Osipov's work. Contrary to the confusion of *varnas* and castes prevalent in many books, he connected the rise of *varnas* with the "division of functions within a free population", regarding *varnas* as social groups that had arisen in the process of the formation of the state. He considered castes to be much more ancient in origin, connecting their roots with the isolation of separate clans as far back as the primitive communal society. Dealing with the problem of the formation of the *varna* of shudras, he tried to find the socio-economic content of this process. In his opinion the shudras were not slaves in the economic sense of the word, but the lower social group, not possessing full rights. The *varna* of shudras could have appeared not only as a result of conquests and the deprivation of the conquered tribes of the means of production, but also because of other reasons. He stressed that from the economic point of view it was very important that the shudras were basically landless, worked as tenants, etc., and their lack of full rights as a social group was accompanied by economic dependence.

Suleikin's description of ancient Indian society was somewhat different. Acknowledging the dominance of the slave-owning system in ancient India, he singled out the following stages in ancient Indian history: the decline of the primitive-communal system (approximately 15th-10th centuries B.C.), the flourishing of slave-owning relations in the 9th-2nd centuries B.C., and the decay of slave-owning relations in the 1st-3rd centuries A.D. He regarded the fact that slavery did not reach its highest forms of development in ancient India to be of cardinal importance. The village community was preserved in ancient India, a survival from the primitive society, and communal ownership hindered the development of private ownership and the development of slavery, and formed the main obstacle to the development of a more progressive slave-owning system. He described the social structure of ancient India as an organic unity of two antagonistic structures–slave-owning and the village community. Examining the genesis of feudal relations in the early centuries A.D. he paid special attention to the role played by the caste (*jati*) system, which had finally taken shape, in his opinion, at precisely this period.

The general conception contained in Ilyin's works of that time was quite close to Suleikin's views. In a special article "The Question of the Social Formation of Ancient India in Soviet Literature", criticising Osipov's views, Ilyin drew attention to the contradictoriness of his position. He spoke out against the definition of village community members as a class, maintaining that the class position of community members could be various. On the whole they could not be identified with the class of the feudal-dependent peasantry. The very division of Indian history into ancient and medieval was puzzling if, from Osipov's point of view, the dominant kind of exploitation in ancient times was the feudal rent-cum-tax. In general he did not consider it possible to regard the payment of the land tax as a particular kind of exploitation. The ancient Indian communities, in his opinion, did not represent a feudal structure, but were a survival from the primitive-communal structure. He stressed that slavery in ancient India was not in full control of production, but insofar as it was precisely slavery that expressed the most progressive relations in antiquity, the social system of ancient India had to be acknowledged as being a slave-owning system (with elements of the primitive-communal system preserved in the form of the village community). The points of view expressed in the polemic at the end of the 1940s-the beginning of the 1950s as to the social system of ancient India are still to be found in Soviet Indological literature in one form or another.

In his article "Shudras and Slaves in Ancient Indian Law Books", Ilyin, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the *Manu Smriti* and other Sanskrit texts demonstrates the untenability of the point of view existing in Indology that shudras should be regarded as slaves. He defines the difference in principle between a class and a *varna* and proves that not only were the shudras not a slave *varna*, but in general there could not be a special *varna* of slaves. Membership of a *varna* was determined by birth, whereas class position (relation to the means of production) could change. Touching on the question of the *varna*-

caste structure in India, Ilyin expressed the opinion that the *varnas* were social groups brought into being as a consequence of the development of social inequality, whereas the origin of castes (occupational castes or *jati*) was connected with the social division of labour. Ilyin's work has been translated into German and is well known to specialists. Thus, the eminent Indian scholar R. S. Sharma in his book *Shudras in Ancient India* highly appraised the article of the Soviet Indologist who he says "showed that shudras were not slaves".

Ilyin's article "Some Features of Slavery in Ancient India" became a major work in the study of the problem of slavery in ancient India. Examining in detail the information contained in Sanskrit texts on the sources of slavery, the categories of slaves, their position and the conditions of their liberation, he came to the conclusion that the ancient Indian term *dasa* did not fully correspond to the concept contained in the word "slave". Certain categories of *dasa* could not be assigned to the slaves. On the basis of data from the *Arthashastra*, Buddhist *Jatakas* and other sources about the sphere of the employment of slaves, he stressed the chiefly domestic, patriarchal character of ancient Indian slavery. He points out that slaves had a number of property and personal rights, the master's arbitrary rule was limited. According to Ilyin the fundamental feature of ancient Indian slavery was its immaturity and the strong survivals from the primitive-communal system which prevented the development of large-scale private slave-owning. The author came out emphatically against the views widespread in Soviet Indological literature at the time which exaggerated the scale and degree of development of slavery in the ancient Orient. At the same time, in the light of the above-mentioned conception, Ilyin does not doubt the existence in ancient India of the slave-owning mode of production.

In the late 1940s, after the liberation of India from British domination and the development of Indian-Soviet relations, interest in India, in her past and her ancient culture grew stupendously in the Soviet Union. Works which had been prepared during the war years were published. Academician A. Barannikov's monumental work, a translation of the *Ramayana* by Tulsi Das, on which the Soviet scholar had been working for many years, was published in 1948. This book, one of the first translations of classical literature in Hindi, introduced the Soviet reader to the ancient traditions of Indian poetry and mythology. The first volume of the Academy edition of the *Mahabharata*, undertaken on the initiative of Barannikov, was published in 1950. A translation of the *Adiparvan* was completed by the Leningrad Sanskrit scholar V. Kalyanov.

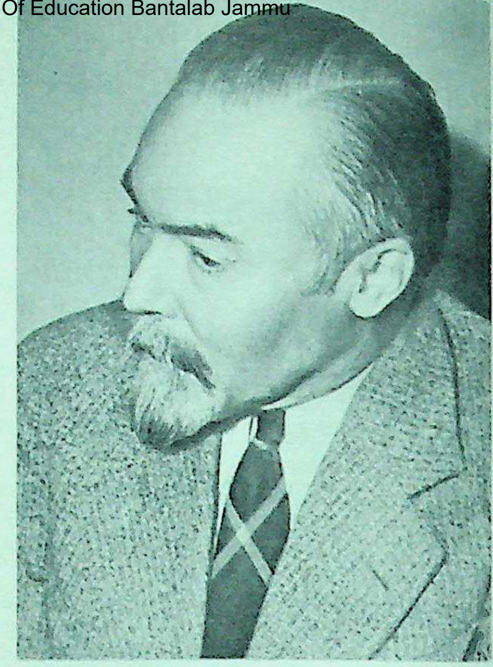
The work of the talented Leningrad Indologist V. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky (1927-1956) dates from the beginning of the 1950s. He studied at the Oriental Faculty of Leningrad University under Barannikov. As an undergraduate he learned Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Hindi, Tamil, Tibetan and Persian, and when he was in the senior courses he himself supervised the Sanskrit studies of junior students. After graduating in 1951, he worked in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies on texts from Tibetan, Indian and Central Asian collections, began publishing unique texts from Eastern Turkestan, thus reviving the tradition initiated by S. Oldenburg and his colleagues. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky became an eminent specialist on Indian palaeography, and he renewed the preparation of specialists in Tibetan studies at the Oriental Faculty of Leningrad University. Working on the problems of comparative-historical linguistics, he wrote a monograph on the development of

**V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky**

personal pronouns in Indo-Aryan languages and a number of articles on the role of the sub-stratum in the development of Indo-Aryan languages, et al. Showing keen interest in relics of Sanskrit literature, he translated Shudraka's drama *Mricchakatika*. His translation was published in 1956, the year of his death. The breadth of his interests and his extraordinary erudition are displayed in his research on the work of G. Lebedev and his commentary on the published diaries of Minayev's journey to India. He was also called upon to write surveys on the history of ancient India, and to take part in works on ancient Indian philosophy, art, etc. He did not live long but he managed to do a great deal and began work on a number of topics which have been successfully elaborated in Soviet Indology over the past decades.

## 3. *Contemporary Indology*

Relations between the Soviet Union and many Eastern countries, particularly India, became still closer in the mid-1950s. The great interest of Soviet people in India at that time is witnessed by the appearance of numerous translations of the works of Indian fiction and also of scholarly works by modern Indian authors. One need only name the *History of India* by N. K. Sinha and A. C. Banerjee published in Russian in 1954; Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Discovery of India* (1955); S. Chatterjee's and D. Datta's *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy*, published in the USSR twice—in 1954 and 1955. S. Radhakrishnan's extensive work *Indian Philosophy* was published in Russian in 1956-



**Y. N. Roerich**

1957. Readers are particularly attracted to India's ancient cultural heritage.

In 1957 the outstanding Indologist and expert on Tibet, Professor Y. (G.) Roerich (1902-1960), who had spent a large part of his life in India and was well known there, returned to the Soviet Union. Y. Roerich's interest in India was inherited from his father, the famous Russian painter N. Roerich. While still a *gymnasium* student, he studied under the remarkable Russian Egyptologist B. Turayev and the specialist on Mongolia A. Rudnev. The trend of his scholarly research can be understood only in the context of Russian Oriental studies and Russian culture of the pre-revolutionary and the first post-revolutionary years in general. Roerich studied at first in the Indo-Iranian department of London University, then at Harvard, and in Paris. He studied Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongol, Chinese and Persian under leading European Orientalists like Paul Pelliot, S. Lévi, Antoine Meillet, Henri Maspero and V. F. Minorsky. (Incidentally, all of them maintained close ties with Sergei Oldenburg, Fyodor Shcherbatskoy and other Soviet Orientalists, and some of them were Foreign Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences.) Beginning with 1924, Roerich travelled over India and Mongolia, and in 1930 became academic head of the Himalayan Research Institute—Uruswati. Many Soviet scholars actively co-operated with the Institute. In India Roerich taught Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese and wrote many scholarly works on the history and culture of Central Asia. His article "Indology in Russia", published in India, was a success there. In India Roerich upheld the best traditions of the school of Minayev, Shcherbatskoy and Oldenburg. He was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Like his father, he always felt himself to be Russian, sensed an unseverable connection with the fate of his people and considered himself to be a representative of Russian Oriental studies, and for this reason his return to his native land was quite natural. He was not destined to live long but in the course of those three years, thanks to him, research work on ancient Indian philosophy and literature became more intense. He himself taught the Vedic language and organised Pali studies. A considerable proportion of those just beginning Indological studies at the end of the 1950s had the opportunity of seeking his advice. The series "Bibliotheca Buddhica" was restarted on his initiative, and in it were published both the legacies of the scholars of the 1920s and 1930s (Barannikov's translation of the *Jatakamala* by Arya Shura, prepared for publication by O. Volkova; *Tibetan Historical Literature* by A. Vostrikov), and the works of the next generation of Soviet Orientalists (for example, V. Toporov's translation of the *Dhammapada* under Roerich's editorship). Y. Roerich spent many years on a large-scale Tibetan-Sanskrit-English-Russian dictionary. This dictionary, almost the most important work of his life, has now been prepared for publication through the efforts of research workers of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

In the mid-1950s the training of professional Orientalists was radically improved, in particular a special Institute of Oriental Languages was set up at Moscow University (subsequently it became the Institute of Asian and African Countries). From this time on there has been a constant expansion in the scale of scholarly publications, and specialised scientific research is developing. Soviet science is striving to embrace all fields of Indology. Over the past twenty years Soviet Indology has come to the fore of world scholarship. It preserves all the best traditions inherited from Russian Indology and is developing them on a new scale.

The main centre of Soviet Oriental studies, including the study of ancient Indian civilisation, is the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. One of the oldest scientific institutions, it was created over 150 years ago and is the largest integrated Oriental studies centre in the USSR. The history, culture, languages, literature and economy of the countries of the East from ancient times up to the present are being studied here. Integrated research promotes in-depth study and the solution of various scholarly problems. The study of ancient India is concentrated primarily in the Department of the Ancient Orient, where a group of specialists in history, philosophy, languages and literature of ancient India is working. Sanskrit scholars also work in other departments of the Institute: in the departments for the publication of texts of Oriental literature and languages, in a special department for India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Ceylon. The staff of one of the departments study the historico-cultural relations of the countries of the East, participate in archaeological research in the Central Asian republics and have made many valuable finds of monuments connected with the history of the spread of Buddhism, with the Kushana period, etc. The Institute of Oriental Studies enjoys the services of professional scholars in practically all branches of Indology, including modern Indo-Aryan languages, Dravidian languages, middle Indo-Aryan languages (Prakrits, Pali). There is also a section on South and South-East Asia in the Leningrad Branch of the Institute. Work is going on there mainly on the manuscript collections, on the study of ancient Indian literary relics and Buddhism. M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya and E. Tyomkin (Leningrad), and G. Bongard-Levin and V. Vertogradova (Moscow) are working on the publication of Sanskrit texts from Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. The staff of the Leningrad branch are continuing work on the complete academic translation of the *Mahabharata* and the study of the epic and other literary relics. The study of the Indian epos is also going on in Moscow, in the Institute of World Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Indologists of this Institute carry on research on theoretical problems of ancient and medieval Indian literature, and are at present working on an academic history of Indian literature. Scientific study of ancient India is also going on at the Institute of Asian and African Countries under Moscow University. In the Department of the History of the Literatures of Asian and African Countries the main subjects of study are classical aesthetics, poetry and the theatre of India; in the Department of the History of South Asian Countries, problems of the social and economic system of ancient and medieval India are studied, and the staff of the Department of Indian Philology studies Sanskrit and other Indian languages. Research on the history of ancient India and source studies are also going on in the Department of the History of the Ancient World (the History Faculty of Moscow State University).

Specialists in the field of ancient Indian literature and the languages of India, both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, work in the Department of Indian Philology in Leningrad State University. The Oriental Faculty of Leningrad State University is the country's major centre of Oriental studies, where Sanskrit, medieval and modern Indian and Dravidian languages, as well as the literature of the peoples of India, are studied. At Tartu University (Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic) research into problems of Buddhism—its literature, philosophy and psychology (primarily texts of the *Prajnaparamita*) is being carried out. Buddhist philosophy according to Sanskrit and Tibetan texts is being studied at the Buryat Institute of Social Sciences (in Ulan Ude, capital of the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic). Research into the proto-Indian civilisation is being carried on by the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Ethnography, USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Archaeology, USSR Academy of Sciences. The staff of the South Asian Department of the Institute of Ethnography in Moscow are working mainly on the ethnography of present-day Indian tribes. Works on the traditions of Hinduism, both ancient and present-day, are also being executed here. Indological research is also being conducted at the Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of the History and Theory of Art (Ministry of Culture), the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of the History of Natural Sciences and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences, the Leningrad Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism, the Philosophical Faculty of Moscow State University and a number of other scientific institutions. Archaeological finds from Soviet Central Asia connected with India are being studied by scholars at the State Hermitage in Leningrad, the Moscow Museum of Oriental Arts, and museums and scientific institutes of the Soviet Central Asian Republics (for example, the Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR, the Institute of Arts, Ministry of Culture, Uzbek SSR).

Medieval Indian manuscripts are studied at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Tajik SSR and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek SSR. Several Sanskrit scholars are working at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Georgian SSR, where they are engaged basically in studying the languages and literature of ancient India. Sanskrit is regularly taught at a number of higher educational institutions of the USSR—the Moscow State University Institute of Asian and African Countries, the History Faculty of Moscow State University, the Philology and Philosophy Faculties of Moscow State University, the Oriental Faculty of Leningrad University, at Tbilisi University, where work is going on in the field of Sanskrit studies, in Vilnius and Tartu Universities and several other places. From time to time studies in middle Indian languages—Pali and Prakrits, are organised. The number of educational institutions where Sanskrit is taught, and of those in which research work in the field of Indology is being conducted, is gradually expanding. Problems of Sanskrit and ancient Indian culture arouse unusual interest not only among scholars but among a quite extensive readership as well. In 1975 the Institute of Oriental Studies joined the International Association for Sanskrit Studies, and a Soviet Sanskrit Commission in the framework of the USSR Oriental Association was formed to co-ordinate research work in this field.

Over the past twenty years dozens of monographs and hundreds of special articles, devoted to problems of ancient Indian civilisation, have been published in the Soviet Union. Articles on Indology appear primarily in academic journals such as the *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (Journal of Ancient History) and *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Peoples of Asia and Africa). Indological articles are periodically published in the *Vestnik MGU* (Journal of Moscow State University), *Vestnik LGU* (Journal of Leningrad State University), *Kratkiye soobshcheniya instituta arkheologii* (Short Communications of the Institute of Archaeology), in the journal *Voprosy istorii* (Journal of History), *Sovietskaya etnografia* (Soviet Ethnography), and surveys of archaeological excavations in India appear quite regularly in the journal *Sovietskaya arkheologia* (Soviet Archaeology). Articles on Indology are also printed in journals put out in the Central Asian Republics. Considerable attention is paid to the elucidation of research work in the field of Indology abroad. Prominent Soviet archaeologists commented on the appearance of W. Tarn's major works on the Greeks in Bactria and India and Mortimer Wheeler's work on Indian archaeology. The Indological research of W. Ruben (GDR), T. Trautmann (USA), A.L.,Basham (Australia), Eva Ritschl, Maria Schetelich (GDR) and others, was examined in extensive reviews. The attainments and problems of Indian national historiography arouse particular interest in the Soviet Union,and Soviet journals carry both information on the latest works of Indian scholars and critical analysis of the latest publications. Thus, A.K. Narain's book on the Indo-Greek period of Indian history and the publication of A.N. Lahiri's account of Indo-Greek coins aroused particular interest among Soviet archaeologists and historians. Quite detailed information was published about such monumental works undertaken in India as the *Shrautakosha* and the *Dharmakosha.* Source-study problems in the investigation of the *Arthashastra* and the *Dharmashastras* by the eminent Sanskrit scholars P. V. Kane and R. P. Kangle were given keen attention. Important works on the history of Indian philosophy, such as D. N. Shastri's *Critique of Indian Realism*, are reviewed. In a broad survey of recent publications on the history of Indian philosophy the most interesting editions and translations are noted, conceptions contained in general works are analysed, as are the trends in the development of the historiography of Indian philosophy. Synopses of the main Indian publications in Soviet libraries are regularly published in the special volumes of abstracts put out by the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences, attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Great attention is paid to Indological research on social history. Soviet scholars have welcomed the appearance of an Indian national historiography, which must undoubtedly occupy first place among national schools of Indology. A number of features draw together the principles on which ancient India is studied in the Soviet Union and in the Republic of India, first and foremost the rejection of racist and Europocentric constructions and all forms of colonial ideology. Special reviews are devoted to the development of Indian national historiography, for example, A. Osipov's "On Indian National Historiography of Ancient and Medieval History" in the book *The Historiography of Eastern Countries*, also his "Notes on Some Contemporary Works on the Ancient History of India" in the journal *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Peoples of Asia and Africa), No. 1, 1961. The views of some Indian scholars, their attempts to explain the course of the historical process by the "spirit of the people", or to reduce history to the biographies of rulers, founders of religions, etc., aroused criticism on the part of Soviet scholars. This, in particular, concerns the multi-volume *History and Culture of Indian People*. At the same time the appearance of a progressive trend in Indian historiography has been noted. S. A. Dange's *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery* has seen two editions in Russian. At various times the attention of Soviet scholars has been attracted by the works of D. R. Chanana, D. D. Kosambi, Ram Sharan Sharma, Romila Thapar, Suwira Jaiswal and other Indian historians. The works of these authors are valuable because in them one can trace an attempt to bring out the general laws and specific character of the development of ancient India, and to solve such problems as the emergence in India of classes and the state, the change of social and economic formations, etc. However, at the beginning of the 1950s, Dange's works, for example, were criticised by Soviet historians for exaggerating marketability of the economy in ancient India, the degree of the division of labour and the decline of the village community, and for a certain modernising of social processes in ancient India. Works by the prominent Indian historian D.D. Kosambi aroused wide interest in Soviet historiography though some were criticised for the schematic character of sociological constructions, for exaggerating the role of trade in the social development of ancient India, for identifying classes, in many instances, with *varnas* and castes, and seeing feudalism chiefly as a system of political and legal relations and much else. At the same time his book *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India* was translated into Russian and drew the attention of specialists and a wide circle of readers. A brilliant Sanskrit scholar, archaeologist and historian, D.D. Kosambi played a big role in the development of modern Indian studies on ancient India. Ram Sharan Sharma's works, *Shudras in Ancient India*, *Indian Feudalism* and *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* have been highly appraised by Soviet scholars. The preciseness of the author's scholarly argumentation and his expert knowledge of sources are conspicuous. His general objective scientific approach to historical problems, his erudition and deep interest in the history of numerous countries of the West and the East, his desire to find changes in productive relations, and his attention to questions of class formation are of particular interest to Soviet Indologists. His works and those of other present-day Indian historians are widely used by Soviet Indologists in their studies.

A number of works by Indian authors on various topics have been published in the Soviet Union. In addition to Jawaharlal Nehru's general works *The Discovery of India* and *Glimpses of World History* the Soviet reader has been introduced to such special Indological works as the *Slavery in Ancient India* by Dev Raj Chanana, *Hindu Samskaras* by R. B. Pandey, etc. Separate articles by eminent Indian scholars have also been published, for example, D. C. Sircar's article on Indian inscriptions, Kosambi's on Indian ethnography, and many others. The publication in India of separate articles and monographs by Soviet authors similarly bears witness to the constantly expanding scholarly and cultural ties, making for a better exchange of ideas and information.

Direct contacts between Soviet and Indian scholars, in both the USSR and India, are of great importance. Soviet scholars warmly welcomed in the USSR such major Sanskrit scholars and historians as V. Raghavan, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, D. D. Kosambi, R. N. Dandekar, R. S. Sharma, Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, D. C. Sircar, B. B. Lal, B. K. Thapar, G. R. Sharma, B. N. Mukherjee, S. Jaiswal and others.

The bulk of Indological research is published in collections devoted to specific subjects, which come out regularly and quite often. It is suffice to name the following: *Drama and Theatre of India* (1961), *The History and culture of Ancient India* (1963), *India in Antiquity* (1964), *Castes in India* (1964), *Indian Culture and Buddhism* (1972), *Problems of the History of India and the Middle Eastern Countries* (1972), *Studies in the Social and Economic History of India* (1973), *Literatures of India* (1973), *Problems of the History, Language and Culture of the Peoples of India* (1974), *Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Culture*, Parts I-II (1979), *The Literature and Culture of Ancient and Medieval India* (1979), *Ancient India. Problems of Historico-Cultural Contacts* (1982). A collection of articles by leading Soviet Indologists under the title *Culture of Ancient India* represents a collective research monograph. The sections on Indian art and theatre are particularly interesting. Collections of articles on Indology are published in other cities besides Moscow and Leningrad. For instance, important researches are reported in *Uchoniye zapiski Tartusskogo universiteta* (Scholarly Transactions of Tartu University), Estonian SSR, one example of which is the two-volume issue of 1973, devoted mainly to India, among whose contributors are not only Russian and Estonian scholars but also such an eminent representative of European Sanskrit studies as Jan Gonda. Articles on Indology also take up a large space in *Materialy po istorii i filologii Tsentralnoi Azii* (Materials on the History and Philology of Central Asia) published in Ulan Ude.

Collections are often based on papers read at scientific conferences, organised mainly by the Institute of Oriental Studies. The conducting of Indological conferences has become a fine tradition of Soviet scholarship. Large-scale all-Union Indological conferences have been conducted, including dozens of papers read in various sections, at which foreign Sanskrit scholars also read papers. Somewhat more restricted scholarly sessions are also organised, sometimes dedicated to the memory of outstanding Russian Indologists: in 1965, in memory of I. Minayev; in 1966, in memory of Shcherbatskoy; in 1967 and 1982 of Y. Roerich, and many others. Indological conferences and the publication of papers read there are invariably met with great interest in scholarly circles. Since the end of the 1950s Soviet Indologists have also been taking active part in international conferences and congresses. Thus, in 1959, at the All-Indian Conference of Orientalists in Bhubaneshwar, G. Ilyin read a paper on the specifics of slavery in ancient India. Papers were read by Soviet Indologists at the International Congresses of Orientalists (Moscow, Delhi, Canberra). In recent years Soviet Indologists have regularly taken part in the work of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies (whose President is the outstanding Indian scholar Prof. R. N. Dandekar), and its congresses (India, Italy, GDR and elsewhere).

Soviet Indologists are taking an active part in an international project for the study of Central Asia under the aegis of UNESCO. This project also serves to join the efforts of Soviet and Indian scholars most fruitfully, insofar as in this instance the historical fortunes both of the territories forming part of the Republic of India and those of the Soviet Central Asian republics are being studied. A characteristic feature of the research carried out under this international project is the broad inter-disciplinary approach, the involvement of representatives of the humanities–historians and archaeologists, linguists and art critics, philosophers, specialists in religion, and others. The large international conference, held in Dushanbe, capital of the Tajik SSR, in 1968 on the archaeology, history and art of Central Asia in the Kushana period, was an important event. A number of outstanding specialists from India and other Asian countries took part in the conference, together with European Orientalists. The Indian scholars D. C. Sircar, G. R. Sharma, B. B. Lal, B. N. Mukherjee, B. K. Thapar, Lokesh Chandra and many others read papers. By the opening of the conference a number of publications had appeared in the Soviet Union– a bibliography of the works of Soviet archaeologists connected with the Kushana problem, Kushana chronology, etc. A special exhibition of works of culture and art of Central Asia in the Kushana period was organised. The programme of the conference was very extensive, embracing such questions as the ethnogenesis of the Kushanas, the chronology, language and writing, the political history and the boundaries of the Kushana empire, its economic development, social and political system, cultural relations, religion and art, and the legacy of the Kushana period in the early Middle Ages. All the material of the conference was published in a large, two-volume edition *Central Asia in the Kushana Period* in 1974-1975. The works of Soviet scholars on the Kushana age evoke great interest in India. In 1970, in the "Soviet Indology Series", the well-known Indian scholar Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya published a special book containing a number of articles by Soviet scholars on the history and culture of the Kushana period, *Kushan Studies in USSR.* In the foreword he wrote: "The importance of developing closer co-operation between Soviet and Indian scholars in the field of Indian studies, of developing better mutual understanding and direct exchange of ideas between them–is stupendous, and its possibilities literally immense." The results and potentialities of work on the afore-mentioned international project were brought out in a special publication: B. G. Gafurov and L. I. Miroshnikov *Study of the Civilisations of Central Asia* (an experience in international co-operation on a UNESCO project), providing evidence of the great importance attached in the Soviet Union to research in this direction.

The results of the work of the international conference on Central Asia (Delhi, 1969), in which Soviet scholars took part, along with a number of major Indian scholars (H. D. Sankalia, B. K. Thapar, J. R. Sharma, B. N. Mukherjee, A. Guha and others), were of great scientific interest. Attention was centred on the historical and cultural links between India and Central Asia from antiquity to the modern times. An international symposium on ethnic problems in the history of Central Asia in ancient times (2nd millennium B.C.), organised in Dushanbe, in 1977, in which outstanding Indian historians, archaeologists and linguists took an active part, was a great success. The main topics of the symposium were: "Autochthonous and Alien Components in the Ethnogenesis of Central Asian Peoples", "Archaeological and Historical-Cultural Aspects of the Ancient Ethnic History of Central Asia", "Ethnic History of the Indian Subcontinent".

In 1980, on the initiative of Indian scholars (Allahabad University), a joint Soviet-Indian project was launched on the comparative study of the archaeology, ethnolinguistics and ancient history of India and Central Asia. It envisaged joint archaeological and historical research, the publication of Soviet-Indian works, exchange of scientific literature, scholarly seminars and discussions. In accordance with the project an Indian-Soviet symposium on archaeology and ancient history was held in Allahabad in 1982, at which Soviet scholars dealt with the latest important discoveries in Central Asia and the Caucasus and Indian scholars, with their new works. The head of the Soviet delegation Academician B. B. Piotrovsky (director of the State Hermitage) was received by the Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi. The second symposium is to be held in the USSR. Of particular interest for the study of the ethnogenesis of the peoples of India are the results of the Soviet anthropological and ethnographical expedition to India, that, together with Indian scholars, conducted research studies in various districts of the country.

Soviet historiography has a large generalising work *Ancient India. A Historical Survey* by G. Bongard-Levin and G. Ilyin (1969), which has had two editions. This monograph covers the period from the Palaeolithic to the end of the Gupta age, and all aspects of ancient Indian history are examined in it: the social and economic, political and cultural development of India. The basic tenets of this work are reflected (and partially developed) in another work on the history of India, devoted to the period from antiquity to modern times, written by K. Antonova, G. Bongard-Levin and G. Kotovsky, *A History of India.* This book had two editions in Russian ( 1977, 1980) and was translated into a number of European languages (including English and French) and many languages of India (Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Malayalam and others). The Soviet scholars' conceptions, formulated in the above-mentioned works, are based on special scientific research. In Soviet historiography there is unity in general historical methodology and basic principles as to the approach to problems of historical development of society, including that of ancient India. At the same time on specific problems of ancient India's history, at times exceptionally important problems, diverse opinions and estimations exist within Soviet Indology, and a keen polemic on questions of principle is being conducted in scholarly publications. *Ancient India* by G. Bongard-Levin and G. Ilyin summed up, to a certain extent, the development of Soviet Indological scholarship on ancient India, and the conceptions of leading Soviet specialists in this field are stated; at the same time far from all the evaluations in it are incontrovertible, and one meets quite different judgments on many questions examined by Soviet scholars.

It is appropriate here to throw some light on the extent to which various periods and various aspects of ancient India's history have been studied in Soviet historiography, to dwell in more detail on questions which are particularly important and debatable. At present specialists like historians, archaeologists, linguists, literary critics, philosophers, and others, are working on practically all periods and aspects of ancient India's civilisation.

The most ancient Indian civilisation, the Harappan civilisation, is being studied by a special research group headed by Y. Knorozov. The results of its work, presented in a whole series of scholarly collections *Proto-Indica*, deserve particular notice. Interest in the archaeological finds in the Indus Valley first appeared in Soviet historiography long ago. As far back as the 1920-1930s reviews of archaeological finds in Harappa and Mohenjo-daro were being published in a number of scholarly journals. The discovery of the Indus Valley civilisation was immediately seen as major proof that India's history did not begin with the Aryans and could not be reduced to the history of the Aryans, and that a highly developed culture existed in India before the Aryans came. In the 1940s and 1950s a number of works on archaeology in India by E. Mackay, Gordon Childe and S. Dikshit were translated into Russian. Finally, independent researches into the Harappan civilisation by a number of leading Soviet archaeologists and historians appeared in the 1950s. Archaeological material on the Harappan civilisation is thoroughly analysed in the works by V. Masson, *Central Asia and the Ancient Orient*, and A. Shchetenko, *Pre-Historic Hindustan*. The latter work contains a comprehensive summary of all the latest archaeological material excavated mainly by Indian archaeologists. Most Soviet archaeologists and historians adhere to the opinion of the authochtonous origin of the Harappan civilisation, and try to discern the material preconditions of the emergence and development of large centres in the Indus Valley in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. They decisively reject the well-known idealist formula of the British archaeologist Mortimer Wheeler that "ideas have wings", as well as attempts to explain the origin of Indus cities by the influence of Mesopotamia from whence, allegedly, the "idea of a city" had come to India. Soviet archaeologists do not exclude the possibility of migrations, but, in their opinion, they were not of decisive importance in the origin of the Indus Valley civilisation. The problem of ethnic affiliation of the population is usually expounded in the sense of acknowledging its links with the Dravidian-speaking peoples of India (the proto-Dravidians). In this, attempts are being made to discover legacies from the Harappan culture in the civilisation of classical India, in particular in the Hinduism that took shape later. The question of the social and political structure of the Indus Valley civilisation was initially resolved mainly by analogy with the Sumerian city states, existing simultaneously and maintaining contacts with Harappa. Since Soviet historiography views the social system of ancient Sumer as a slave-owning system, Harappan society was sometimes considered to be slave-owning. Most researchers maintain a more cautious position on this question. Archaeological evidence obliges us to recognise the existence of property and social inequality in cities of the Indus Valley civilisation. Many facts bear witness to the development of an early class society and state formation in the Indus Valley, corresponding to the high level of development that civilisation reached there. But the specific forms of state and the structure of the class society cannot as yet be reliably investigated on the basis of available material. The Soviet archaeologist A. Shchetenko is doubtful as to the recognition of centres of Harappan civilisation as cities in the strict socio-economic sense of the word, disagrees with S. Rao's hypothesis—considering Lothal a most ancient seaport, and suggests that the scale of the ties existing between Harappa and Mesopotamia has been greatly exaggerated in historiography. Shchetenko's opinion that Harappa should be assigned to the pre-historic period is not shared by most Soviet scholars. In examining problems connected with the decline of the Harappan civilisation, the prevalent point of view in Soviet historiography is that its downfall cannot be explained as the result of Aryan invasion. This point of view was expressed by Soviet scholars as far back as the beginning of the 1960s and subsequently strengthened by more and more detail. It must be said that neither do the majority of Indian archaeologists and historians consider the invasion by Aryan tribes to be the cause of the downfall of the Harappan civilisation. They give other reasons (naming quite a few, among them climatic changes, overflowing of rivers, etc.). All the late-Harappan and post-Harappan settlements in the Indus Valley have been analysed in detail in the works of Soviet scholars, which has enabled the complicated picture of the later periods in the life of the Harappan cities in the Indus Valley to be revealed. It is wrong to speak of any massive invasion of foreign tribes such as Mortimer Wheeler and his followers wrote about. Soviet scholars consider among the main causes of the decline of the centres in the Indus Valley to be the internal crisis, which obviously gripped the development of Harappan society. (Similar processes were also characteristic of ancient urban cultures of Eastern Iran and Afghanistan.) Together with this, already in the 1960s, they advanced the supposition that there possibly existed later Harappan settlements in the Punjab, which had survived to the period of the Painted-Grey Ware culture, which many Indian and Soviet scholars associate with the Indo-Aryans or one of the groups of the Indo-Aryan tribes. The correctness this supposition was confirmed by the recent excavations of Dr. J. P. Joshi, which show evidence of contacts of Harappan settlements with the Painted-Grey Ware culture in the eastern periphery of the Harappan civilisation.

Monographs by P. Boriskovsky, *The Palaeolithic in South and South-East Asia* (1971), and A. Shchetenko, *The Most Ancient Farmers of Deccan* (1968), and also a number of special articles were devoted to the archaeology and anthropology of ancient India. Attempts to single out the basic cultural-economic zones of ancient India during the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age periods are made in a number of works by V. Masson and A. Shchetenko. The latter, in particular, despite the opinion of the outstanding Indian archaeologist H. Sankalia, defends the theory of the local origins of the Chalcolithic cultures of Central India. Just as B. B. Lal and other Indian scholars, many Soviet historians and archaeologists connect the Painted-Grey Ware culture with the Aryans or a part of the Indo-Aryan tribes who created the *Rigveda*. Basing themselves on the latest researches by Indian archaeologists, Soviet scholars stress the fact that the precise correlation of a specific archaeological culture with a definite *ethnos* is very conventional. As far back as the mid-fifties G. Bongard-Levin and D. Deopik in their articles determined the Copper Hoard and Ochre-Coloured Ware culture as belonging to tribes of the Munda group (proto-Mundas), a point of view which has found acceptance in scholarly literature. According to Soviet scholars, proto-Mundas came to Eastern India in the Neolithic age from South-East Asia, and it was in India that they developed the chalcolithic culture of Copper Hoards and Ochre-Coloured Ware. The conclusions of Soviet scholars conform largely to the views being developed at present by some Indian archaeologists and historians.

In recent years the general problem of the contribution of non-Aryan peoples to India's cultural heritage has been posed by Soviet scholars. The genesis of ancient Indian civilisation in the context of the interaction of various ethnic components is being studied. These ideas are being developed, in particular, in a number of articles by G. Bongard-Levin, and in his book *Ancient Indian Civilisation. Philosophy, Science and Religion* (1980). The problem of the contribution of pre-Aryan India is of great importance for the understanding of the general course of development of ancient Indian civilisation. Soviet scholars approach this problem comprehensively, making use of linguistic, historical, archaeological and ethnographic material. Various ethno-cultural components played a large part in the formation of ancient Indian culture, and it would be a grave mistake to reduce ancient Indian history to an examination of the history of the Indo-Aryans. Material produced by Soviet scholars shows convincingly that in the very first period of the coming of the Indo-Aryans to India they entered into close contact with the local pre-Aryan population, and a multilateral exchange of cultural attainments began. Ancient Indian culture must be seen as a complex synthesis of Aryan and various local cultural traditions. Pre-Aryan ethno-cultural substrata had a considerable influence on the economy of the Indo-Aryans, on the formation of religious beliefs, and were significant in the development of science, philosophy and the arts. Great importance is attached to the independent development of Southern India, where states arose prior to the establishment of close contacts with the north of the country and independently of Indo-Aryan influence. In this connection there is contention about the view of Nilakantha Shastri and other Indian scholars, who exaggerate the dependence of Southern India's development on the Indo-Aryan states of the north. Such is the general approach of Soviet historiography to this problem; unfortunately, specific study of the history of Southern India in the ancient period still lags considerably behind the study of Northern India. New, intensive research is essential here.

Soviet scholarship is paying great attention to the so-called Aryan problem. Along with this, Soviet scholars quite unanimously oppose the "theory of Aryan conquest", widespread in Western, and to some extent in Indian, historiography, with the help of which attempts are made to explain the rise of classes, the state, estates and castes in India, as well as a number of specific features of Indian culture. Soviet scholars, in the spirit of the materialist conception of history, find the causes of the appearance of social and political institutions first and foremost in the economic development of the country. Nevertheless, they do not ignore the migrations of tribes having their own economic structure, social traditions and specific culture, which actually took place. Such migrations of Indo-Iranian (Aryan) tribes did, in fact, play an important part in the historical development of India. They are, in addition, of special interest to Soviet scholars, because the routes of Aryan migrations also passed through the territory of the USSR. Hot debate is going on in Soviet archaeology as to which archaeological cultures can be correlated with Indo-Iranian tribes. A large proportion of scholars connect the so-called Andronovo culture with the Indo-Iranians (it is discussed in the book by K. Smirnov and Y. Kuzmina *The Origin of the Indo-Iranians in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discoveries* (1977). In addition to archaeological studies, linguists are also doing important work on the problem of the original homeland and the migration routes of the Indo-Iranians (works by V. Ivanov, E. Grantovsky, and others). The popular-science book by G. Bongard-Levin and E. Grantovsky *From Scythia to India. Enigmas in the History of the Ancient Aryans* (1974, 1983) deals with these questions. It was also published in India. Here, in particular, attention is paid to the contacts of the Aryans with the northern tribes of the forest zone—the forebears of the peoples of the Finno-Ugric language group.

For solving the "Aryan problem" of great interest are publications of excavation materials from Central Asia (primarily Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan) in the new works of the Soviet archaeologists M. A. Askarov, V. I. Sarianidi, B. A. Litvinsky, A. M. Mandelshtam, Pyankova and others. Many aspects of this complex problem have been dealt with in detail in general works on the history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia (the works by B. G. Gafurov, E. A. Grantovsky, V. M. Masson).

Particular scholarly interest was aroused by the theory set forth quite recently by prominent Soviet linguists V. V. Ivanov and T. V. Gamkrelidze. According to them, the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans was situated on the territory of ancient Asia Minor and the neighbouring regions. This problem was discussed on the pages of the *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (Journal of Ancient History).

Soviet historians are concentrating particular attention on the classical period of India's history, the second half of the 1st millennium B.C., conventionally called the Mauryan age. The publication of an important source on the Mauryan age, the *Kunalavadana* (from the manuscript preserved in the Soviet Union), was carried out by G. Bongard-Levin and O. Volkova in 1963 (published in Calcutta in 1965). Many aspects of the Mauryan period are examined in the monograph *Mauryan India* and in articles by G. Bongard-Levin. In his articles on political history and chronology, in particular, arguments are put forth in favour of dating the beginning of the rule of Candragupta to 317 B.C., and the identification of Agrammes, mentioned by Greek authors, with Ugrasena (Nanda) of Indian texts. Some articles have been devoted to the political structure of Indian states. Special attention, following such Indian historians as K. P. Jayaswal, A. C. Altekar, B. Ch. Law and others, is being given to ancient Indian republics. The complexity of the problem of ancient Indian republics is taken into account, insofar as the same terms (*gana*, *sangha*) were used in ancient Indian sources for societies at different levels of social and political development. The various paths by which republican states came into being, and the differences in their internal structure and organisation are analysed. Attention was drawn to the resemblance in structure of a number of states of the ancient Orient (including the republics of ancient India) to the *polis* of ancient Greece, and the contrasting of ancient Indian political structures with the political organisation of ancient Greece was proved to be unfounded. The social structure of the most developed republican states in ancient India was subjected to special analysis. Scholars had long ago observed that the estate hierarchy in ancient Indian republics differed somewhat from that of monarchical states. The Kshatriyas were usually put before the Brahmans. This peculiarity of the *varna* structure may be connected with the development of large-scale Kshatriya land-owning in Indian republics.

The political organisation of ancient Indian monarchies, and the Mauryan empire in particular, is also analysed. Great importance is ascribed to the various collective organs of government (*parishad*, *rajasabha*), the existence of which precludes one from speaking of the ancient Indian state as a "typical Oriental despotism".

In their researches devoted to the reign of Ashoka, Soviet historians, unlike many European and Indian scholars, do not reduce Indian history to the biography of her ruler. A historical evaluation of Ashoka's politics is not replaced by a moral evaluation of the emperor's personality. His administrative, as well as his religious and missionary, activity is subjected to detailed analysis and attempts are made to discover political foundations in Ashoka's religious propaganda. Special attention is paid to elucidating the social and political conditions in which India found herself in the 3rd century B.C. The *dharmavijaya* policy is seen as a means of securing the unity of the country. It was considered that Ashoka gradually turned from religious tolerance to a pro-Buddhist policy and it was precisely this that aroused opposition at the end of his reign. Analysis of the *avadanas* and some of Ashoka's edicts make possible the conclusion that Ashoka was deprived of real power during the last years of his reign.

Soviet scholars devote great attention to the study of the Kushana period, which is directly linked with the solution of a number of problems of ancient Indian history. The discovery of numerous Kushana monuments in Central Asia, the results of the work of the Soviet-Afghan expedition in Afghanistan, the study of inscriptions of the Kushana period from Central Asia and neighbouring territories, as well as of the vast numismatic material, not only supplement but also considerably change old viewpoints on the history of the Kushana empire, the ethnogenesis of its creators, on its chronology, religion, economics, etc. Along with a wealth of articles, monographs, too, have appeared: G. A. Pugachenkova, *Bactrian Art of the Kushana Period*, *Dalverzin-tepe*, B. Y. Stavisky, *Kushana Bactria*, *Ancient Bactria* (a collection of articles), *Kara-tepe* (five collections have been published), to mention only a few. Works by Soviet scholars on Kushana evoke great interest among Indian scholars, who widely use the newly-discovered material. Y. Zeimal has devoted a special work to Kushana chronology and also has several publications on Indian coins in Soviet collections.

Soviet Indology devotes particular attention to social and economic relations in ancient India. In addition to special articles by G. Ilyin on the problems of slavery in ancient India and specific sections in general works, one may also note the translation of the book by the well-known Indian scholar Dev Raj Chanana *Slavery in Ancient India*, articles by the Indologist M. Schetelich from the GDR and the Soviet scholar A. Vigasin. General problems connected with the development of slave-owning relations are examined in a number of articles by G. Ilyin, Y. Medvedev and other authors. Generally accepted in Soviet historiography is the proposition that slavery in ancient times was a natural form of social relations essential for the coming into being of a class society and state. The sources of slavery, the position of slaves, the use made of their labour in various economic spheres, etc., are studied in detail in special articles.

According to G. Ilyin—his viewpoint is shared by a number of Soviet historians—the importance of slavery in the structure of a society is by no means determined merely by the number of slaves. The main thing is that slavery influences all aspects of social relations and therefore even a society in which slaves constitute the minority of the working population may quite justifiably be called a slave-owning society. For it is not the number of slaves but the role of slave labour in the main spheres of production that is the basic indicator. In his latest works Ilyin emphasises the well-known plenitude of slaves in the leading centres of ancient India during the Mauryan period, he points out the presence of large-scale holdings where slaves were the principal workers, the production importance of the so-called household work carried out by slaves, and so on. As distinct from the views expressed in articles at the beginning of the 1950s, Ilyin is inclined to consider that the position of slaves in India did not differ in principle from that of slaves in ancient Greece and Rome.

Refuting Ilyin, Y. Medvedev and a number of other historians indicate that the very term *dasa* cannot always be taken to mean slave, and that in large-scale holdings (the importance of which should not be overestimated) people could be exploited by methods other than those that are characteristic for slavery.

In a number of articles on slavery in ancient India A. Vigasin, utilising material from the *Arthashastra*, singles out categories of people called *dasas*. Elaborating the observations of a number of European and Indian scholars, the author comes to the conclusion about the use of the term in the broad and the narrow sense. *Dasas* in the narrow sense of the word are slaves proper, their status not being different in principle from the status of slaves in other ancient societies. However, a considerable part of the *dasas* in the broad sense of the word consisted of debtors in bondage and other categories of temporarily dependent people, who were not identified with slaves proper and could have played a different part in the socio-economic structure from that of the slaves proper. The division into slaves proper and "those temporarily in slavery" is also analysed in connection with the *varna* system in the light of the *Arthashastra* according to which the representatives of the four *varnas* should not be converted to slavery proper.

Practically all Soviet historians, among them Y. Medvedev, L. Alayev, G. Ilyin, and A. Samozvantsev, have devoted attention to problems of the ancient Indian village community and of land property. The great importance of the village community for the understanding of social relations in ancient India is stressed by them all. It should be remembered that as far back as the mid-19th century Karl Marx wrote perspicaciously of the role of the village community in India. Marx's description of the village community as the real basis of India's social structure is exceptionally important and is taken into account by Soviet scholars. The works of outstanding Indian historians like R. Mookerjee, R. Majumdar and A. S. Altecar are very important for an analysis of the ancient Indian village community. Soviet researchers are not inclined to idealise the Indian village community, but regard it as an institution going back to primitive society and as an important element in the social structure of class society. They seek the reasons for the rise and existence of the village community in social and economic conditions, and not in a special "Indian spirit of solidarity", etc. The "spirit of solidarity" (the corporate spirit) can more readily be explained by the stability of the system of village community in India. There is considerable divergence of opinion among Soviet historians in the general description and evaluation of the ancient Indian village community and its structure. In the book *Ancient India*, G. Ilyin, author of the relevant chapter, regards the ancient Indian village community as a survival from the primitive-communal system, as an element of the primitive structure in the ancient Indian slave-owning society. This structure, in his opinion, gradually disintegrated, eroded by the development of slavery and the evolving caste structure. At the same time it hindered the spread of slavery and prevented it from reaching a high level of development.

Y. Medvedev's works are to a considerable extent devoted to specific questions of the organisation of the village community in India—on the basis of epigraphic data, urban self-government in ancient India, the tribal periphery and other questions connected with the community. The village community in ancient India is also dealt with in his works devoted to a general evaluation of the social structure of ancient India, such as "Rent, Tax, Property. Some Problems of Indian Feudalism" (in the book *Some Problems of the History of India and of the Middle Eastern Countries*), 1972 ; "On the Question of the Social and Economic Structure of Ancient India" in the journal *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Peoples of Asia and Africa), No. 6, 1966; "The Genesis of the Feudalism in India" (in the book *Studies in the Social and Economic History of India)*, 1973. He distinguishes three social and economic patterns in ancient India: the primitive structure, represented by the tribes—a reserve for supplementing the oppressed classes and at the same time an impediment to the development of a class society. The other two, the slave-owning and the feudal, had also existed, in his view, in undeveloped form in ancient India. Slavery remained, in the main, of a domestic, patriarchal character. Feudal relations were manifested chiefly in the levying of taxes on the village community. Medvedev considers that these taxes were basically a form of land tax-rent and thus regards a large proportion of the village population (community members-cultivators and tenant farmers) as peasants feudally exploited by the ruling stratum. This view dates back to the work by A. Osipov. Disputing with Y. Medvedev, G. Ilyin maintains that in ancient India there was no monopoly of land ownership vested in the king, consequently taxes are neither rent nor a form of direct (or basic) exploitation by the king (or the state).

A. Samozvantsev wrote a special work on land ownership in ancient India as reflected in the tradition of the *Dharmashastras* and medieval commentaries. On the basis of a thorough analysis of Sanskrit texts he sets out in detail the procedure for acquiring and losing the right of ownership, the system of proof of the right of ownership, long-standing use and other questions, and the general problem of correlation of ownership and possession as understood by ancient Indian legal experts. Samozvantsev finds in the *Dharmashastras* an elaborated theory of property, originated very early, in the Mauryan period, that presupposes a very high level of development of property rights, including the right to land. His viewpoint on the development and significant role of private ownership in ancient India is close to that of a number of Indian scholars, for instance, Lallanji Gopal.

A new approach to the Indian community is set forth in the works of L. Alayev. He refuses to see the ancient Indian village community as simply a survival from primitive society, although he, naturally, does not deny the possibility of a genetic link between the ancient village community and the primitive (kin) community. He regards the ancient Indian village community as an organic element of class society. In his opinion, the community landowners, enjoying full rights, appeared as exploiters of the labour of landless peasants already in ancient times.

In a special work, based on the *Arthashastra*, A. Vigasin makes an attempt to describe various kinds of corporations comprising ancient Indian society. The question of ownership is resolved in conjunction with the general notion of ancient Indian society as a system of communities and social stratigraphical groups of various size and character. According to Vigasin, private ownership prevailed in ancient India, but this private ownership was limited by all the various kinds of collectives into which the owner entered.

The question of the various forms of private exploitation not identical with slavery also occupies a prominent place in Soviet historiography. G. Ilyin, Y. Medvedev and A. Vigasin have devoted works to this question, dwelling on the important role of hired labour (*karmakaras, bhritakas*) in the economic life. In spite of certain contradictions in the assessment of the given phenomenon, Soviet Indologists unanimously draw attention to the fact that working conditions of Indian labourers such as the *karmakaras* are to a considerable extent determined by non-economic compulsion. The *karmakaras'* economic position is closely bound up with a definite *varna*-caste status, dictated by the general social structure of ancient India. Therefore hired labourers in ancient India cannot be identified with a working class resembling the working class of present-day capitalist countries.

Few special investigations have as yet been made by Soviet historians into problems of *varnas* and castes in ancient India, although these questions are touched on both in works on ancient India (G. Bongard-Levin, G. Ilyin, Y. Medvedev, V. Kalyanov and others) and in works devoted mainly to later periods of Indian history (G. Kotovsky, M. Kudryavtsev, L. Alayev, A. Kutsenkov). A characteristic feature of Soviet historiography on this problem is an urge to discover the social and economic content of the caste system. To this end Soviet authors make wide use of the achievements of Indian ethnographers, the works of M. N. Shrinivas, I. Karve and other scholars. A number of researchers regard the system of *jajmani* as the foundation of the Indian village's social structure. Basically, material on the caste system in the village structure in India in medieval and modern times is analysed, but a number of Soviet historians are endeavouring to discover the roots of this institution in the ancient period, the 1st millennium B. C. Incidentally, there is widespread opinion of the evolving of the caste system and the appearance of "professional castes" in the first centuries A. D., on the border of the ancient period and the Middle Ages.

Special attention has been given in a number of works to the socio-economic content of the problem of untouchability. Untouchables are frequently defined as half-slaves half-serfs and the caste system in general is dealt with in the framework of the non-economic compulsion of the direct producers, characteristic of pre-capitalist societies. A number of researchers (for example, L. Alayev) emphasise the fictitious nature of caste professions and consider as fundamental in the problem of the evolving of castes, not professional differentiation, but the difference in social status determined by a different relation to the means of production, first and foremost to land. The problem of the evolving of the caste system is frequently connected (for example, by

G. Kotovsky) with the emergence of a feudal hierarchy. At the same time attention is drawn to the fact that in certain aspects castes copy the tribal or clan structure and may be linked with it in the origin. An attempt was recently made by A. Vigasin to show that the *jati* was already a fully formed institution at the period when the tradition of the *Arthashastra* was developing, and the caste is regarded as a practically functioning community collective formed from several exogamous *gotra* kin-groups. There is, at the present time, an urgent need for studying the ancient Indian castes in the context of the clans and lineages of ancient India, a field in which work in Soviet Indology has already begun.

There is a special question, which invariably attracts Soviet researchers, and that is the question of the external relations of ancient Indian culture. Translations of all the main Greek and Roman authors who have written about India, have been published in the Soviet Union. There are also special research works on the reliability of information about India, for example, that of Megasthenes. In works on Indo-Greek relations attempts are made not only to throw light on the perception of India by the Greeks, but also the attitude of the Indians towards the Greeks. The reflection of Buddhist tradition in the works of Greek and Roman writers, particularly those of the period of the late Roman Empire, has been studied in recent years. The ties of the late Graeco-Roman world and early Byzantium with India have been analysed in detail in the substantial research work of N. Pigulevskaya, *Byzantium on Routes to India*, published in 1951. The influence of Indian culture in Asian countries—Mongolia, South-East Asia and Indonesia, and the question of relations between India and China in ancient times (according to Chinese sources) are also traced. Particular attention is being paid to the history of the ancient Indian epics in South-East Asia and Mongolia (P. Grintzer, Y. Osipov). Young Soviet Orientalists (S. Kullanda) are conducting research on Sanskrit inscriptions in Indonesia and versions of Indian works in South-East Asian languages. Of great interest are the works of M. Dandamayev on Indians in Achaemenid Babylonia (based on an analysis of a large number of cuneiform texts). Soviet historiography's position, in principle, is that although the problem of the influence of Indian culture on the surrounding regions is extremely important for understanding the cultures of the countries that surrounded India as well as their relations with India, a correct evaluation of one culture or the other is only possible if it is examined in the context of the given country's life. The very opportunity for foreign cultural influence must be prepared by the internal development of a given country and no matter how important that influence may be, it cannot play a decisive part in the cultural development of a people.

A number of important new trends have become noticeable in recent years in Soviet historiography on ancient India. The attitude towards ancient sources has become more painstaking, and it is no accident that in recent years more and more often special researches into source-study problems—questions of dating, tradition, the degree of reliability of the source—have appeared. The problem of adequate knowledge of the source language, its system of concepts and terminology is posed. The complexity of the social structure is admitted, and scholars are focussing their attention not only on the question of slave-ownership, but also on other problems of the social structure, such as the village community and its internal structure, non-slave-owning means of exploitation, social relations among free men, and such institutions as caste, *gotra* and clan. Finally, as in other fields of Soviet historical scholarship, there is a growing interest in the history of culture, and here the work of historian-Indologists is in particularly close contact with that of representatives of other disciplines such as literary criticism, linguistics, philosophy, etc.

An important task of Soviet Indology is the publication of manuscripts, preserved in collections of the Soviet Union. A number of articles on Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia have been published in recent years, and an intensive study of unique Buddhist manuscripts from Central Asia is going on. The Nauka publishing house has been producing a special series "Relics of Oriental Writing" for more than twenty years with both original editions of manuscripts and scholarly translations of Oriental literary works. Many ancient Indian literary works are also published in addition to the above-mentioned series. Over the last quarter of a century enormous work on the translation of the most important relics of Sanskrit literature has been underway in the Soviet Union. A selection of hymns from the *Rigveda* and the *Atharvaveda* in T. Yelizarenkova's translation has been published, as also have separate extracts from the *Brahmanas* and the *Aranyakas*, all the basic *Upanishads*, *Manu Smriti*, parts of *Narada Smriti*, and the *Arthashastra* by Kautilya. The eight-volume *Mahabharata*, translated by Academician B. Smirnov of the Academy of Sciences of the Turkmen SSR, and published in the 1950s-1960s in Ashkhabad, contains selected fragments of the poem, both philosophical and narrative in content. The first five books of the *Mahabharata* were published in an Academy translation. Attempts at versification of some of its parts were made and published several times by the Khudozhestvennaya Literatura publishing house. Articles printed in separate volumes of the translation of the *Mahabharata* throw light on various questions connected with the study of the subject-matter of the Indian epic. B. Smirnov's articles in the Ashkhabad edition of the *Mahabharata* in the main discuss philosophical questions, and particularly emphasise the humanism of ancient Indian thinking. In his articles in the academic edition of the *Mahabharata* V. Kalyanov examines questions of diplomacy and warfare in ancient India. Fragments of the *Ramayana* translated in verse and literary renderings of the *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, *Bhagavata Purana* and Indian myths have been published in Russian. E. Tyomkin and V. Erman, in a number of their works, set themselves the task of acquainting wide circles of Soviet readers with the mythology and epos of ancient India. Insofar as the full text of epic poems is not accessible as yet to the readership at large, and classical and contemporary Indian culture can be understood only if one knows the mythology and epic images, as well as a wide range of ancient conceptions, the authors have produced a literary rendering of the basic content of two great Indian epics, preserving the specific features of their style and poetics. There have been several translations of the poems and dramas by Kalidasa, and translations of other works of classical Indian drama: plays by Shudraka, Bhasa, Vishakhadatta, and fragments from the dramas of Bhavabhuti and Vararuci (translated by V. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, P. Grintzer, V. Erman). Various Russian translations (from Sanskrit and Prakrits) of the works of ancient Indian lyric poetry have appeared (the collection *Indian Lyric Poetry of the 2nd-10th Centuries*, translated by Y. Alikhanova and V. Vertogradova, Bhartrihari's *Shatakatrayam*, in the collection *Classical Poetry of India, China, Korea, Vietnam, Japan*, etc.). Buddhist texts are represented, basically, by the Pali *Dhammapada* and the *Jatakamala* by Arya Shura, and also by fragments from the *Suttanipata*, *Mahavagga*, *Digha Nikaya*, *Theragatha*, *Therigatha* and the *Jatakas.* Of the classical Indian philosophical texts special mention must be made of the recent translation of Vasubandhu's treatise *Abhidharmakosha* undertaken in Ulan Ude by B. Semichov and M. Bryansky (translated from Tibetan). This edition continues the tradition of studying Vasubandhu started by F. Shcherbatskoy and his school. To a certain extent it even preserves continuity of Buddhist studies insofar as B. Semichov was a pupil of Shcherbatskoy, and was on the staff of the Institute of Buddhist Culture in the late 1920s. Extensive work on the translation of, and research into, relics of Indian philosophy is developing successfully in Soviet scholarship. In the field of classical Sanskrit literature mention should be made of translations of the *Pancatantra* and of all the basic relics of the so-called tale within a tale prose. A complete translation of the *Ocean of Stories* of Somadeva by the Moscow Indologist and Sanskrit scholar I. Serebryakov has been published. Y. Alikhanova has translated the classical treatise on Indian aesthetics *Dhvanyaloka* by Anandavardhana. Alikhanova's work is not limited to translation, it includes research and is equipped with valuable commentaries. These works are a contribution to Soviet scholarship and world Indology. Soviet Indologists do not confine themselves to literary relics of Indo-Aryan languages. The *Tirukural* has been translated into Russian twice, and the *Shilappadigaram*, Tamil lyric poetry, legends, as well as philosophical texts from Tamil have also been translated and published.

The publication of translations of the basic relics of ancient Indian literature, on the one hand facilitates the spread in the Soviet Union of knowledge about Indian culture, and on the other is connected with the profound research work of Soviet Sanskrit scholars. Thus, numerous publications by T. Yelizarenkova on the Vedic language, on the style of the *Rigveda*, articles devoted to the charms of the *Atharvaveda*, etc., are bound up with work on translation of the *Samhitas*. She has also written some interesting works on the formation of the aspectual-temporal system of the verb in the Vedic language by using the method of inner reconstruction (*The Aorist in the "Rigveda"*). She paid special attention to a description of the phonological system of the *Rigveda*, which made possible the drawing of a more precise distinction between the Vedic language and Sanskrit. The fruit of many years of research is her generalising work *Vedic Grammar*, This monograph contains a synchronous description of the language of the *mantras* at all levels (from the phonological to the syntactic), which is arranged as a system of formal and, corresponding to the former, semantic oppositions. The book also examines the vocabulary and semantics of Vedic texts. At the present time T. Yelizarenkova is working on a complete translation of the *Rigveda* with a detailed commentary. Soviet scholars have also investigated the structure of the mythological texts of the *Rigveda* and certain problems in the study of the *Upanishads* (such as the composition and style of these texts, and the way in which Hindu rites, mythology and social reality are reflected in them). V. Erman's work *An Outline History of Vedic Literature* gives a detailed survey of its most important relics from the *Rigveda* to the *Upanishads* and the *Vedangas*. Great attention is paid in it to the history of the study of Vedic literature (in Western Europe, India and the USSR). The author highly assesses the works of contemporary Indian scholars (first and foremost those of R. N. Dandekar and V. Raghavan). Important general questions on research into Vedic texts are posed in V. Semenzov's work *Questions of the Interpretation of Brahmanical Prose (Ritual Symbolism)*, 1981. The author focusses attention on the question of the functional role of the literature of the *Brahmanas*, the *Aranyakas* and the *Upanishads*, without understanding which it is impossible to interpret these texts correctly. He shows that the *Brahmanas* are functional commentaries, that is not an explanation of the meaning of the texts, but instructions for their use in ritual. The whole of later Vedic literature, including the *Upanishads*, should, in his opinion, be interpreted in close connection with sacrificial ritual. V. Semenzov points out the importance of an analysis of ritual symbolism in *Brahmana* prose from the point of view of studying the laws of development of human thinking. A. Vigasin's articles are devoted to Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and the *Dharmashastras*, in the framework of the study of their specific character as historical source material. G. Bongard-Levin has published articles on the ideological foundations of the *Arthashastra* and its connection with materialism, on the historical value of the *avadanas*. V. Romanov is working on the *Dharmashastras* and his interests are centred on questions of the distinctive features in the thinking and culture of the ancient Indians. Thus, he pays particular attention to the specific perception in Indian texts of "kingdom" as the "king's body", analyses the correlation of rites and injunctions in the *Dharmashastras*, and the problem of the correlation of ritual, myth, literature, etc.

Soviet Indology pays great attention to the study of the *Mahabharata*, which is being investigated in the comparative-genetic aspect and in connection with general problems of folklore studies. Scholars analyse the correlation of oral and written epic traditions and consider the *Mahabharata* to be basically a relic of oral origin. P. Grintzer, Y. Vasilkov and S. Neveleva are actively engaged in this research. Grintzer's monograph *The Ancient Indian Epic* deals with problems connected with the oral origins of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* and their typological comparison with other epic relics and folklore genres.

In the first part of his monograph, under the heading "Oral and Written Tradition in the Ancient Indian Epic", he introduces evidence from the epic itself of its long oral existence, the conditions of oral performance and the bardic singers. However, the decisive sign of the oral genesis of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* is the saturation of their texts with stereotype phraseology, peculiar to oral works, thanks to which one can apply to them in full measure the theory of the epic formulas based on material from Homeric and Serbo-Croatian epics.

The role of the oral tradition in the formation of the ancient Indian epic enabled the author to interpret the repetitions and inconsistencies in the text, the specific features of composition, and the correlation of various wordings. Comparison with other oral sources of epic poetry shows that stylistic and plot repetitions (including repetitions of the so-called themes), contradictions in meaning, and inserted episodes are a basic feature of oral epic poetry. Oral transmission of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* led also to the conclusion that there was not, and in principle could not be, a canonical text; they came down to us in several recensions and numerous differing manuscripts. P. Grintzer shows that it is textual dynamics and not statics that is typical of the oral tradition, and that various versions of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* existed not only in the later but also in the very earliest stages of their composition. According to the author, reconstruction of the original Sanskrit epic is impossible, as are attempts to find in its composition alien interpolations.

Nevertheless, since the process of the forming of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* was unusually long-drawn-out (approximately from the 4th century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D.), one may speak of their numerous layers, of the reinterpretation in them of the epic matter belonging to the "heroic age" in the spirit of the ideological and aesthetic conceptions of the latest period, a reinterpretation that had become fixed by written texts of the poems.

The presence of a common compositional scheme, revealed by the author, assumes a closeness of subject-matter and of certain central motifs of the Sanskrit epic with epics of other peoples. This closeness cannot be explained by the theory of adoption and it can only be studied on the basis of the comparative-typological method. Along with this, within the framework of general typology, the content and problems of separate epic poems are quite diverse, being determined by the particular cultural and historical environment in which the given epic was created and developed. Insofar as the final stage in the formation of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* relates to the first centuries A. D., both epics directly reflect the atmosphere of India's cultural life at that period. However, the paths of transformation of the heroic and epic material in the two are different. In the *Mahabharata* the heroic narrative, as a result of the conservativism of oral tradition, preserved its subject and content unchanged, but they were interpreted in a new way, from the ethical point of view, coming under the influence of the conceptions of spreading Hinduism, conceptions that found precise embodiment in the *Bhagavadgita*. The well-known Indian scholar R. K. Sharma, working independently of Grintzer, came to the same conclusion about the oral origin of the epic and made a detailed analysis of the formula system of the *Mahabharata*.

In a number of articles by Y. Vasilkov, the problems of the oral origin of the *Mahabharata* are discussed, and a number of its subjects (including the basic one) are explained in the light of ethnographic material. In his works he posed the important question of the influence of ritual and mythological "models" on the formation of the subject-matter of the epic narrative. He examined in detail the hypothesis of the "fixation" in the Indian epic of the archaic system of ritual that presupposed a cyclical ritual interchange within the framework of a dual or polycentric, tribal organisation, and corroborated it with data from the *Mahabharata* and ethnographic material. Such an approach enabled the author to give an explanation of many subjects and details of the narrative, which scholars had often looked upon as non-systemic insertions, uncharacteristic of the general structure of the epic. The theory of the oral origin of the ancient Indian epic is very important not only for the solution of general tasks in the comparative study of the literature of different peoples but also for the correct formulation of questions on the textology of the epic. The works of S. Neveleva are based on the same principles. Proceeding from material of the third book of the *Mahabharata* she gave a description of the pantheon reflected in the epic in the *Mythology of the Ancient Indian Epic (Pantheon)*, 1975, and in a special monograph analysed the representational means of the Indian epic (*Problems of the Poetics of the Ancient Indian Epic. Epithet and Simile*, 1979). The latter work contains comparative material which allows both the typological conformities between the *Mahabharata* and the epics of other peoples to be explained, and the originality of its poetics to be outlined. Soviet researches into the *Mahabharata* are of interest, in particular in connection with discussions on the historicity and chronology of events reflected in the epic, problems which were widely discussed by Indian scholars in recent years.

An article by V. Erman "The Theory of Drama in Ancient Indian Classical Literature" in the volume *Drama and Theatre in India*, his monograph on Kalidasa, and a book by P. Grintzer on Bhasa, were devoted to research on Indian drama. Erman, on the basis of a careful study of sources, points out the high level of dramatic theory in ancient India, reveals the sources of the Indian theatre and shows its origin to be quite independent of Greek theatre. Stormy debate goes on among scholars, including Indian scholars, on the question of whether Bhasa is really the author of the plays which tradition ascribes to him (the so-called *Trivandrum* plays). Nor are Indologists unanimous in dating the works of this remarkable dramatist. P. Grintzer examines these problems in detail in his book. Being an authority on classical literature as well, he also touches on general questions of the typological development of ancient Indian and Greek drama. He approaches Bhasa's works taking into account the whole history of the development of ancient Indian drama, tracing its sources, starting from the age of Vedic literature. Grintzer, analysing in detail the arguments of both defenders and opponents of Bhasa's authorship, himself inclines to the position of the former (first and foremost of Ganapati Shastri). He has an excellent knowledge of contemporary Indological scientific literature on this question and is conducting an interesting, scholarly debate on complicated problems of literary criticism and textology. Translations of two of Bhasa's dramas, *Svapnavasavadatta* and *Pratimanataka*, are appended to the book. Classical Indian aesthetics and theory of literature are examined in works of Y. Alikhanova and E. Tyomkin, V. Ivanov, T. Yelizarenkova and V. Toporov. The study of ancient Indian literary theory is conducted on the basis of a careful analysis of original Sanskrit texts, taking into account Indian cultural traditions and the historical and cultural development of the country, but together with this it is carried on against the background of the general processes characteristic of other ancient literatures of the world (first and foremost Greek and Roman). This interest in themes of Indian poetics continues, to a certain extent, the tradition of old Russian Indology, represented by the works of Shcherbatskoy and some of his students (B. Larin). In his research *Bhamaha's Philosophical Views and the Date of His Treatise "Kavyalankara"*, E. Tyomkin analyses the fifth chapter of the *Kavyalankara*, which he considers to be an original study devoted to the comparison of two types of pronouncements, scholarly and artistic (*shastra* and *kavya*) and an elucidation of the general and the particular in their essence and structure. This approach differs from that generally accepted in Indology, according to which the fifth chapter of Bhamaha's treatise is considered to be a description of logical errors, which may occur in the works of poets, and a recommendation and warning against such errors. Tyomkin considers Bhamaha's views to be close to the philosophy of the *Vaisheshika* and that the *Kavyalankara* can be dated to the time of Vasubandhu and Dignaga (c. 5th century A.D.). P. Grintzer has studied ancient Indian "tale within a tale" prose. The specific character and sources of the genre are examined as also is the question of the reflection of India's social relations in relics of this type. I. Serebryakov is the author of a number of works on the history of ancient Indian literature. The book *Sketches of Ancient Indian Literature* (1971) gives an account of the most important phenomena in the history of Indian literature from the time of the *Vedas* right down to such medieval writers as Kshemendra and Somadeva. It is most important that the author not only deals with the work of separate authors and dramatists, but also notes characteristic features of the literary-historical process. Serebryakov considers the 11th-12th centuries to be the upper boundary of ancient Indian literature, and he examines not only works in Sanskrit but in Prakrits too. An undoubted merit of Serebryakov's work is that he links the development of literature with the general course of development of ancient Indian society. In his monograph *The Literary Process in India* he investigates the important problem of the personal element in ancient Indian literature and deals with this question in the context of the social development and the environment in which the poets, writers and dramatists of ancient India were living and creating their works. Particular attention is paid to an analysis of Bana's *Harshacarita*, and the works of Dandin and Bhartrihari. To the latter he devoted a special book. Serebryakov, who is well acquainted with contemporary works on Indian literature, rightly stresses the exceptional significance of the works of Indian scholars, particularly those of D. D. Kosambi, in the study of Bhartrihari's literary heritage.

From among Soviet works on Indian languages the following general linguistic works should be mentioned: V. Ivanov and V. Toporov, *Sanskrit*; T. Yelizarenkova and V. Toporov, *The Pali Language*; V. Vertogradova, *Prakrits*, 1978; M. S. Andronov, *Dravidian Languages*, 1965. Some of these works have been published in both Russian and English. A valuable grammatical study of Sanskrit written by A. Zaliznyak is to be found in the first Sanskrit-Russian dictionary compiled by V. A. Kochergina (approximately 28,000 words). Kochergina also wrote *A Beginner's Course in Sanskrit*, 1956, an elementary textbook. More fundamental study of Sanskrit in the universities is usually based on G. Bühler's textbook. Soviet Indologist linguists pay special attention to phonology. One should, in particular, mention Vertogradova's monograph *Structural Typology of Middle Indian Phonological Systems*, 1967, and T. Yelizarenkova's *Investigation into the Diachronic Phonology of Indo-Aryan Languages*, 1974 (including material from modern Indo-Aryan languages). Problems of Sanskrit studies are dealt with in different monographs (e. g., T. Yelizarenkova, *The Aorist in the "Rigveda"*; E. Aleksidze, *Modal Particles in Sanskrit*, Tbilisi, 1973) and in numerous articles.

The achievements of science in ancient India are analysed in works by A. Volodarsky (monograph on Aryabhatta, 1977, and others), and other scholars. Translations of Sanskrit scientific works (by O. Volkova and others) provide a sound base for research on the history of science. Study of the scientific achievements of the ancient Indians is carried on by Soviet scholars in the context of the historical and cultural development of the country. Thus, Aryabhatta is studied not only from the point of view of his mathematical and astronomical theories, but also taking into account his general position as a scholar and philosopher, and his philosophical views are expounded. Such an approach made it possible to show that some of Aryabhatta's ideas were close to the Lokayata doctrine and opposed orthodox views, which led to sharp criticism of his works in Brahmanical tradition. This viewpoint of Soviet scholars received support from Indian scholars during the International Conference (Delhi, 1977) dedicated to the 1500th anniversary of Aryabhatta's birth.

When studying Indian philosophy, Soviet scholars initially concentrated attention on problems of the history of materialist trends. Soviet historians of philosophy in their works in the 1930s-1950s focussed their efforts on the study of the history of ancient Indian materialism (*Lokayata, Carvaka*). To a certain extent this direction could find support in the work of Shcherbatskoy *On the History of Materialism in India*. Works by the prominent Indian scholar D. Chattopadhyaya, *Lokayata Darshana. The History of Indian Materialism*, 1961, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, 1966, and *Indian Atheism*, 1973, were all published in the USSR. Works by Soviet Indologists in this field also appeared, for example, N. Anikeyev's book *On Materialist Traditions in Indian Philosophy (Ancient and Early Medieval Periods)*, 1965, in which attempts were made to show materialist and atheistic tendencies in the philosophy of early *Sankhya* (cf. Gosteyeva, *The Philosophy of the Vaisheshika*). During recent years some Soviet Indologists have been writing on materialism in ancient India, basing their studies on original Sanskrit texts (not only philosophical and literary but also scientific). Noting the great importance of works by Indian scholars in the study of the history of materialism, in particular, the works of the well-known Indian philosopher Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Soviet Indologists, nevertheless, disagreed with some of his conclusions. But in general the publication in the USSR of Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya's books aroused great interest in scholarly circles and among the wide readership of the country. They were highly appraised by Soviet Indologists, while the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences conferred upon Professor Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Ancient Indian philosophy in general and philosophical teachings of the different orthodox and non-orthodox *darshanas* have been arousing a growing interest among Soviet Indologists in recent years. Some trends in Indian philosophy are examined on a broad comparative base in the works of V. Toporov. A number of works by L. Myall are devoted to the problem of Buddhist psychology according to Prajnaparamita texts, M. Bryansky analyses the philosophy of Vasubandhu, and V. Shokhin has prepared a research work on the history of the emergence of the *Sankhya* school. On the basis of a thorough analysis of a large number of sources (in Sanskrit and Pali, of philosophical texts and the epic, etc.), V. Shokhin traced the roots of the *Sankhya* as a philosophical trend, and revealed its links with Buddhism and other philosophical schools. This strictly textological approach enabled the stages in the evolution of the *Sankhya* school to be examined more deeply and reliably. In recent years special attention has been paid to other *darshanas* including the *Vaisheshika* and the *Vedanta*. In a series of articles V. Lysenko analyses the essence of atomism of the *Vaisheshikas*, shows the importance of this conception in the history of Indian and world philosophy and also deals with the polemic of Shankara with philosophers of this school. N. Isayeva devoted her works to Shankara's polemic with the *Lokayatikas* and the Jainas. These researches, based on a textological analysis of original Sanskrit texts, convincingly showed what sharp ideological disputes accompanied the emergence and the development of the basic philosophical schools in India. A strictly historical approach to Indian philosophy, thoroughness in the analysis of texts, examination of the history of philosophy in the context of the struggle of schools and traditions of ancient teachers, the study of philosophical ideas in the light of social conditions and the historical environment, the analysis of Indian philosophy in typological comparison with Graeco-Roman philosophical ideas, special attention to problems of text functioning are all characteristic of the contemporary works of Soviet scholars.

Soviet Indologists are also paying much attention to the study of ancient India's religions. The most important works are devoted to the Vedic religion, which is being examined in the broad context of Indo-European research. These are primarily the works by V. Toporov, V. Ivanov and T. Yelizarenkova devoted to separate cults, beliefs and rituals. A number of individual researches on Buddhism have been carried out by O. Volkova, V. Rudoy, L. Myall and other scholars. An important reference aid on ancient Indian religion and mythology is the Encyclopaedia *Myths of the Peoples of the World*, which has been published recently.

N. Guseva's monograph *Hinduism* (1977) deals with the history of the origin and the cult practices of Hinduism. The author tries to determine the roots of Hinduism, throws light on the question of objects of worship in Hinduism and tells of Hindu ceremonies.

When studying Hinduism, Soviet scholars endeavour to show the complexity and syncretism of this system, the long process of its formation, the interrelation of various cults and beliefs, and the influence of Hindu norms on literature, the epic and art. Another book by this author, which treats of Jainism (*Jainism*, 1968), has been published in India in an English translation.

Works on the history of ancient Indian art are confined mainly to the general works by S. Tulayev (*Art of India*, 1968), A. Korotskaya, V. Sidorova, O. Prokofyev and other art critics. The chapter on the art of ancient India, written by V. Vertogradova for the book *Ancient Indian Culture* is of special interest. At present this author is engaged in research into the "Citrasutra" from the *Vishnudharmottara Purana*. Much more extensive work is going on in the study of monuments of art of ancient Central Asia connected with India. (A special chapter of the present book is devoted to this question.)

Soviet Indologists pay great attention to the study of such an important problem as the cultural legacy of ancient India. The importance of this problem is determined not merely by the significance of ancient India's contribution to world civilisation, but also by the vitality of ancient traditions in modern India. Having undergone certain change, many images, motifs, ideas and conceptions from the distant past became an organic part of contemporary Indian life, and play various but important roles in the development of contemporary Indian culture. Soviet Indologists are trying to reveal the humanistic and democratic tendencies in this general legacy, and to show their progressive character and the paths of their further development.

On the whole, one may assert that over recent years Soviet Indologists have achieved considerable success in the study of ancient Indian civilisation. The comprehensiveness of their research, its broad scale, the application of new methods of scientific historical research, strict objectivity in the setting out of the subject-matter are the characteristic features of contemporary Soviet Indology. In studying India, the attitude of Soviet scholars towards the peoples of this great country is one of profound respect. They appreciate their remarkable achievements in the different fields of culture, science and the arts, and in their own works they see the fulfilment of the noble task of bringing the peoples of the USSR and India closer together, and of strengthening the traditional friendship between the two countries.

# Chapter VI. Ancient Indian Civilisation in the Light of New Archaeological Excavations in Soviet Central Asia

Currently new light is being thrown on many problems in the history and culture of ancient India, thanks to the intensive archaeological excavations which Soviet scientists are conducting in different areas of Soviet Central Asia.

Many important discoveries have been made in Soviet Central Asian republics in recent years, previously unknown cultures have been revealed and the site of a large number of ancient towns and settlements excavated. As a result it has been possible to read anew and add new pages to the history of Central Asia. Archaeology helped to establish the existence in Central Asia, in the remote past, of a developed society, and original local cultures, closely connected with the cultures of regions both far and near. Archaeological material obtained by Soviet scientists in Central Asia is of special importance for the study of ancient civilisations on the Indian sub-continent. Bearing in mind the exceptional importance of Central Asian material for Indology, the Indian archaeologist S. P. Gupta devoted a special work to a comparative study of materials from the ancient cultures of Central Asia and India (*Archaeology of Soviet Central Asia and the Indian Borderlands*, Vols. I-II, Delhi, 1979).

Gupta's book is dedicated to the friendship and co-operation of Indian and Soviet scientists. Indian scientists are particularly interested in the work being carried out in Central Asia by expeditions led by V. Masson, A. Belenitsky, V. Sarianidi, M. Askarov, G. Koshelenko, B. Stavisky, L. Albaum, G. Pugachenkova, B. Litvinsky, V. Ranov, Y. Zadneprovsky, N. Negmatov, and others.

Since hoary antiquity close historical and cultural contacts have joined India and Central Asia, these two distinctive centres of the culture of the East.

Archaeological finds show that as early as the Palaeolithic period there was a definite typological closeness between the cultures of Southern Tajikistan and the Soan culture of the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent. Particularly interesting material was obtained as a result of Professor Ranov's expeditions in the mountain regions of Tajikistan. The Soviet scientist's conclusions found support among Indian archaeologists (one may point to the works of H. D. Sankalia, B. K. Thapar, S. P. Gupta among others). The mutual acquaintanceship of Soviet and Indian archaeologists with the results of field work is very useful. In India V. Ranov studied the collections of stone tools, and Indian scholars, when they were in Central Asia, studied the collections of Soviet archaeologists.

In the Neolithic period many territories of Central Asia and Northern India were part of an extensive region of the spread of early farming cultures that were close to one another, with similar processes of social and economic development underway, processes which led to the emergence of urban civilisations. Comparative study of the Neolithic cultures of Central Asia and India makes it possible to discover the roots of the emergence of agricultural civilisations of Southern Central Asia and Northern India, and in particular, to trace the stages of the maturing of pre-Harappan and Harappan settlements. It is significant, as recent research has shown, that the early farming cultures of Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia and Northern India comprised a vast zone of development of typologically similar cultures.

As a result of new excavations by Soviet archaeologists in Altyn-depe (tepe), in Southern Turkmenia (not far from the city of Ashkhabad), the existence of contacts between cities of the Indus Valley and Bronze Age settlements in Southern Turkmenia was established. These contacts date back to the period of the flourishing of the Harappan civilisation (the end of the 3rd-the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C.). Some objects have parallels in the Harappan culture—those of metal and ivory, broken faience beads, and ceramics. Note should be made of articles brought from the Indus Valley (of particular interest is the discovery of Harappan seals) and of objects that carry clear traces of Harappan influence.

Three small ivory sticks, quadrangular in section, with circles on three sides and an ornamental design on the fourth, were found in one of the hoards of the settlement. These dice used to be made in cities of the Harappan civilisation. (Similar small sticks have been found during excavations in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.) Professor Masson, who was in charge of the excavations, assumes that these small sticks were also used for divination, and that they occurred in Southern Turkmenia apparently owing to trade. It is possible that a Central Asian merchant was either himself in the cities of the Indus Valley, where he learned the game played with dice and mastered the art of divination or that he bought them from a visiting merchant. Among the articles made in Southern Turkmenia, but influenced by Harappan traditions, the one that immediately attracts attention is a silver seal in the form of a threeheaded creature. Three-headed animals are also to be found on Harappan seals. One of the seals from Mohenjo-Daro depicts a three-headed creature which, like the South Turkmenian seal, has two goat heads and one of an aurochs. Probably the very notion of three-headed creatures, as has been revealed, existed among the population of Southern Turkmenia of the Bronze Age, and is in itself the result of the influence of Harappan traditions but with the natural replacement of foreign animals by representations of those found locally. Pottery from South Turkmenian settlements also strongly resembles that from Indus Valley sites. Most typical is pottery on a base, which is found in abundance in the upper layers of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, and ceramic stands, distributed over many settlements of the Harappan civilisation. Particular mention should be made of the terracotta figurines from Southern Turkmenia, which are similar to those made by city dwellers of the Harappan towns. The study of these figurines is of definite interest for examining religious beliefs among the population of

Southern Turkmenia in the Bronze Age. These figurines, reflecting the ancient cult of the mother-goddess, are evidently representations of "family gods", as it were, known to have spread among the Sumerians and ancient Iranians. The finds of these figurines, on which various symbols are clearly distinguishable, raised the question of the possible appearance of a pictographic writing. Similar symbols were also found on pottery, and were made before baking. The presence of symbols on vessels is a well-known phenomenon, but the discovery of symbols on figurines is a very interesting occurrence. The symbols on the figurines are most diverse, consisting of all kinds of crosses, symbols of the eight-pointed star, symbols reminiscent of a representation of a tree, etc. They are, obviously, magical and cult symbols, connected with the cult character of the figurines. Possibly, separate symbols represented specific deities. In outward appearance these symbols are closer to Sumerian pictography than to Harappan seals, nevertheless, on the whole, it is as yet not a pictographic writing. One may assume that in Central Asian society too during the mature Bronze Age, the process of creating a writing was underway.

The discovery in Altyn-tepe of a proto-Indian (Harappan) seal with two symbols is of exceptional interest. Professor Masson draws attention to the fact that the inscription does not contain an animal figure, but only a "pictographic text", and this, in his opinion, enables one to assume that some inhabitant or other of Altyn-tepe was able to read this "text". Proceeding from this, V. Masson expresses the interesting idea that it would be possible to assign the ancient population of Southern Central Asia to the Dravidian-speaking group (proto-Dravidians).

If this hypothesis turns out to be correct, it opens new prospects for the solution of many problems connected with the early ethnic history of the peoples of Central Asia, India and the adjoining regions.

It is not only the scientifically established fact of cultural ties between India and Central Asia, and the discovery of a typical proto-Indian seal in Altyn-tepe that determine the interest of Soviet scholars in the problem of the Harappan writing and culture. This subject is of exceptionally great importance for the solution of many common problems of the ancient history and culture of India and the adjoining regions.

As is well known, during the intensive excavations of the settlements and sites of the Harappan civilisation, which have been going on for more than fifty years now, a wealth of archaeological material has been amassed, enabling many features of ancient Indian civilisation to be revealed. However, while the Harappan inscriptions retained their secret, it was impossible to make a sound judgement about the character of Harappan society, and the theories on the origins of this culture, the ethnogenesis of the population, religious beliefs, and so on, appeared extremely one-sided and hypothetical.

Harappan seals had become known to scholars long before the discovery of the civilisation itself. As early as 1853, Alexander Cunningham, when inspecting old monuments in Harappa, found a seal made of black stone with symbols on it–a bull and two small stars, and also a "mysterious inscription". Right down to the beginning of the 20th century finds of seals were amassed in museums and private collections. It was only systematic excavations of ancient cities in the Indus Valley, begun in the 1920s by the Indian archaeologists D. R. Sahni and R. D. Banerjee in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro and continued in subsequent decades by scientific expeditions led by

J. Marshall, N. Majumdar, E. Mackay, M. Vats, M. Wheeler and others, that placed a whole series of inscriptions at the disposal of scholars. The inscriptions that were found were very brief, from four to eight or ten signs: the majority of them done on steatite seals, some were inscribed on thin steatite or copper plates, others on pottery and bronze objects. Today scholars have at their disposal quite a large number of proto-Indian inscriptions: more than 5,000 have been found (more than 1,500 different texts). There would seem to be a sufficiently sound basis for deciphering them; however, bilingual inscriptions have so far not been found in cities of the Harappan civilisation; the majority of texts are short and of the same type, which also greatly narrows the possibility of deciphering.

Attempts to read the Harappan inscriptions were made as far back as the 1850s. The "mysterious signs" agitated the minds of many scholars, but no successful solutions whatsoever were proposed at that time, and it was only at the end of the 1920s-the beginning of the 1930s that John Marshall and his colleagues succeeded in making a number of valuable conclusions about the script and language of the Indus Valley population. In particular, having gathered together a complete list of symbols on proto-Indian seals (altogether there turned out to be about 400; in the opinion of some specialists they can be reduced to 250 or even 150) and having calculated the frequency of their distribution in the inscriptions, scholars came to the conclusion that this writing belongs to the "mixed" or hieroglyphical type, that is includes ideograms side by side with syllable-forming signs. At that period the important idea was expressed of the independence of the Harappan script from any other system of writing whatsoever in spite of the external similarity of some of its symbols with Cretan and early Sumerian.

Unsuccessful attempts at deciphering brought about a notable decrease of interest in the Harappan writing and the proto-Indian civilisation in general. However, Soviet scholars, realising the importance of solving a number of problems connected with proto-Indian culture, embarked, in 1964, on an extensive programme of study of the Harappan civilisation and its writing and language.

The task of making a comprehensive study of the Harappan culture was to a considerable extent eased by the fact that in the USSR Academy of Sciences there already existed an organisational body for carrying out extensive research of this kind, and that was the Commission on the Deciphering of Historical Systems of Writing, attached to the Semiotics Section of the Academic Council on the complex problem "Cybernetics". The status of the council and its eminent scientific authority enabled it, at various stages of the work, to involve specialists from the most diverse areas of scholarship, both from Institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Ethnography, Oriental Studies, Scientific and Technical Information), and from other scientific and higher education establishments. The creative co-operation of scholars engaged in various professions on the programme worked out by the Academic Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its commission created a sound base for studying such a complex problem as the deciphering of proto-Indian writing. The work was headed by Professor Y. Knorozov,* who not long before had made a truly sensational deciphering of the Mayan writing.

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* Initially the group included Y.V. Knorozov, B.Y. Volchok, N.V. Gurov; at present

An analysis undertaken by Soviet scholars of the previous attempts at deciphering showed that the same methodological errors were typical of them all, and this predetermined their failure:

– the inscriptions were studied without taking into account the combinatory characteristic of separate symbols, which did not allow the type of writing to be determined and the structure of the language explained;

– there was no systems approach to the textual material: deciphering of texts was based not on general definitions of the formal structure of the text, but on subjective interpretations of specific symbols, groups of symbols and inscriptions;

– the identification of separate symbols was not based on a strictly scientific approach to the selection of admissible analogies, which led to the comparison of completely incomparable data;

– hypotheses advanced about the language of the inscriptions were not based on the strict methods of comparative-historical linguistics.

In accordance with the programme of research it was essential first and foremost to determine the direction of writing (from right to left or from left to right), to establish its type (alphabetical, syllabic, hieroglyphical, etc.), to determine the morphological structure of the language of proto-Indian texts on the basis of a formal-typological comparison with other languages and, finally, to ascertain, before deciphering, as far as this was possible, the content of the inscriptions.

The problem of the direction of writing was solved on the basis of a careful study of the palaeographic features of the inscriptions, and was established as being from right to left (and on seals, accordingly, from left to right). It is significant that the well-known Indian archaeologist and historian B. B. Lal arrived at this important conclusion almost simultaneously with the Soviet scholars.

The new programme, naturally, required new methods of analysing texts, in particular, the use of computer techniques. By the start of the work of deciphering proto-Indian writing, a group of Soviet scholars—mathematicians and linguists, had already spent a number of years working out a methodology for studying the positional-statistical regularities of various texts, including those not as yet deciphered. Therefore Knorozov and his colleagues, solving the question of the type of proto-Indian writing and the structure of the language of the inscriptions, were already able to base their work not on isolated empirical observations, but on combinatory-statistical data of the whole mass of texts. It became possible, on a strictly formal basis, to "break up" the texts into "blocks"—stable combinations of symbols, which are frequently repeated in many texts and are, presumably, meaningful elements of the inscription. The whole body of texts was translated into a numerical transcription and as a single continuous text (some 12 thousand units) was "offered" to the computer as a programme. The blocks ("real polygrams") were separated from fortuitous combinations of symbols ("chance polygrams") and classes of symbols

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Y. V. Knorozov. M.F. Albedil and B.Y. Volchok work on the deciphering of texts. Among the latest publications see: Y.V. Knorozov, M.F. Albedil, B.Y. Volchok, *Proto-Indica: 1969*. Report on *The Investigation of the Proto-Indian Texts*, Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1981.

were singled out in accordance with the absolute and comparative frequency of usage. In order to test the reliability of the answers received an ancient Egyptian text of the same size was "offered" to the computer in similar fashion. Parallel processing of texts confirmed that the description of proto-Indian writing as hieroglyphical was absolutely justified: in both cases the machine produced similar indicators of the distribution of symbols and polygrams according to the frequency of occurrence.

It was proposed to consider the most frequently occurring symbols ("variables") as indicators of grammatical indices (the results of the machine's processing of the ancient Egyptian text were similar). In doing this the frequency of use of the "variable" symbols was taken into account, as also was their position in the context of the inscription or the block, as well as the types of possible combinations of the "variables" (microparadigms of the texts). These very reassuring results made it possible, although conventionally, to speak of such grammatical features of the language of proto-Indian texts as the presence in it of suffixes, but not prefixes, the prepositioning of the attribute to the determined word, and the absence of grammatical agreement between the attribute and the word being determined, etc.

The next step was quite logical: it was to compare these data with the descriptions of the languages, the existence of which in the Indus Valley in the 3rd-2nd millennia B.C. was theoretically admissible in the general conceptions of the historical and cultural development of the region. These languages could be Indo-European languages—Sanskrit and Hittite; non-Indo-European languages of the ancient Western Asia—Sumerian and Elamite; non-Indo-European languages of India—Dravidian languages, dialects of the Munda group, Burushaski (one of the languages of North-Western India; it has not been fully established as yet where to it belongs genetically).

The whole collection of formal indications, typical of the structure of proto-Indian texts, turned out to correspond to the language system of the Dravidian languages alone. Some scholars, proceeding from linguistic data, had earlier also suggested a Dravidian basis for Harappan culture and language, but now this conclusion came not from a priori considerations of a general character, but from a strict system of proofs which excluded chance factors. The material of proto-Indian texts now had to be compared in detail with the data on Dravidian languages.

Soviet scholars are of the opinion that none of the living Dravidian languages can be chosen as a standard: the latest data from comparative-historical Dravidian studies and the results of a glotto-chronological investigation of Dravidian languages show that modern Dravidian languages were formed quite late (approximately from the 4th-2nd centuries B.C. to the 10th-11th centuries A.D.). As scholars have established, this long process was preceded by division of the common proto-Dravidian language into separate groups of dialects which lay at the base of the three groups of Dravidian languages existing today—the Northern, Central and Southern. According to glotto-chronological analysis, division into these groups of dialects went on over the course of several millennia, from the end of the 4th millennium B.C. to the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. Consequently, at the time of the Harappan civilisation, there existed in the Indus Valley either a still undivided proto-Dravidian language, or one of its first "descendants". Scholars were faced with the task of making a phonological and grammatical reconstruction of this ancestor language. The academic collective led by Professor Knorozov is also working on its solution.

Soviet scholars have published special collections of articles, devoted to the results of work on the deciphering of proto-Indian texts, as well as a number of articles in foreign scientific publications—their works have been published in India, the USA and Holland, and were highly assessed by Indian scholars.

A major achievement of Soviet scholars was the establishment of several structural-semantic types of proto-Indian inscriptions. Sacrificial and festival inscriptions were singled out. Due to the complex approach to the investigation of proto-Indian writing it became possible to understand many features of the spiritual culture and social structure of Harappan society. The texts were worked on, taking into account all available data from archaeology, comparative mythology and ancient Indian literature, and therefore each representation on seals, each symbol, had to speak not only by itself but as an element in the cultural-mythological system that was being reconstructed.

Research into proto-Indian writing enabled Soviet scholars to reveal certain features of the religious-mythological concepts of the inhabitants of Harappan settlements, first and foremost various kinds of cult objects (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, sacred trees, "deified vessels"), but the most important was to establish the general character of proto-Indian cosmogonic concepts and the calendar system.

Soviet scholars came to the conclusion that the inhabitants of Harappan settlements divided the year into three large and six small seasons. The symbols of the small seasons were representations of animals, the aurochs (the unicorn; it was also the symbol of the year), goat, tiger, shorthorned aurochs and the bull. The zoomorphic symbols also, apparently, denoted the large seasons: the season of overflowing of rivers was "transmitted" by a representation of the crocodile; the year began with the season of the aurochs; the zebu and the scorpion symbolised the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. The sixty-year cycle (the cycle of Jupiter), which was followed in ancient India also in a later period, obviously arose in the Harappan era. The "proto-Indians" divided this cycle into five twelve-year periods.

Work on the interpretation of proto-Indian texts is substantially adding to contemporary knowledge of the social relations, religious concepts and cult practices among the inhabitants of Harappan cities.

Soviet scholars showed that in the course of time the types of the inscriptions were transformed and the techniques were changed. In a later period "sacrificial inscriptions" were no longer engraved on steatite plates but were made with the help of dies which were impressed in clay. Evidence of the fact that cult practices became more complex is furnished by the appearance on seals of scenes depicting various types of sacrifice. Scenes of cattle being brought for sacrifice, of libations of "silver water" together with primitive kinds of ritual requittal pointed, in the opinion of Soviet scholars, to a considerable property differentiation in Harappan society, which had previously been revealed by archaeological material (buildings of rich and poor, different burial furnishings, etc.).

The study of proto-Indian inscriptions led Soviet scholars to the conclusion that the introduction of calendar cycles connected with the idea of the sacred ruler, was evidence of the strengthening of the ruler's power, and reflected the urge of the ruler to turn it into hereditary. The "celestial ruler" was depicted on seals with the horns of a buffalo, and therefore it is likely that the actual rulers too belonged to the ancient totemical group whose totem was the buffalo.

Soviet scholars' conclusion on the character of Harappan society disprove the conceptions held by many West European scholars that the idea of statehood appeared in India only with the arrival of the Indo-Aryans, or else was borrowed from the Sumerians. The traditional view of "complete harmony" and the absence of social differentiation in the Harappan period needs decisive revision.

Studies of Harappan inscriptions by Soviet scholars enable one to talk of a considerable influence of Harappan traditions on Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism, of their influence on the culture of ancient India of a later period.

Soviet scholars have now completed the compilation of a glossary of blocks with their pictographic interpretation and supposed reading, and also a corpus of inscriptions that have been "read". The glossary of blocks contains approximately 80 per cent of the signs of proto-Indian writing, and the corpus approximately the same percentage of all the inscriptions known so far. Further work is proposed that will not only check the readings but will also provide a more detailed historical-linguistic study of the inscriptions.

It is worthy of emphasis that Indian scholars displayed a keen interest in research work of Soviet scholars on proto-Indian inscriptions; a number of their publications have been translated into English in India. The successful work of Soviet scholars was made possible, in particular, by constant contact with Indian scholars. Some years ago the Indian scholar I. Mahadevan published a corpus of all known proto-Indian inscriptions, complete with most detailed tables, concordance of texts and a full catalogue of signs. Without Mahadevan's catalogue no scientific study in this field would be possible; Soviet scholars, too, make wide use of it in the work of deciphering. A second processing of the texts with the help of a computer was carried out in Madras under Mahadevan's guidance. The data obtained on the proto-Indian system of writing, the division of texts into "blocks", on the grammatical indicators, basically tallied with the results obtained by Soviet scholars, although the programme was evolved by the Madras scholars entirely independently and differed in many aspects from the programme offered by Soviet mathematicians.

Research by Soviet scholars into the written language and culture of the Harappan civilisation in general is of primary importance also for the solution of such a controversial, and still insufficiently studied problem, as the ethnogenesis of the Dravidian peoples as a whole. Up to now all theories on the original homeland of the Dravidians and the possible routes of their migrations have been construed on the basis of data on the distribution of contemporary Dravidian languages, typological or genetic links of languages of this group with other languages, and also on sparse historical, ethnographical and archaeological evidence. It is no accident that scholars arrived not only at different but even opposite points of view; very popular, for example, was the hypothesis according to which the original homeland of the Dravidians was the south of India, and that native speakers of Dravidian languages in the north (for example, modern Brahuis) appeared there as a result of migration from the south.

Data of the so-called Dravidian linguistic archaeology has hardly been used up to now, although precisely that kind of linguistic material turned out to be exceptionally promising in solving the problem of routes of movement and the initial stages of development of the culture not only of the Dravidian peoples but also of various Indo-European peoples.

Attempts to make use of data from "Dravidian linguistic archaeology" have begun in the USSR only recently (one should primarily mention N. Gurov from Leningrad and M. Andronov from Moscow), with work on deciphering proto-Indian writing providing a significant impulse towards this.

What prospects does this method open up for the solution of the question of the original homeland of the Dravidians and even wider—for an understanding of the general process of the genesis of ancient Indian civilisation?

Comparative-historical study of Dravidian vocabulary enabled Soviet scholars to single out the cultural stratum in its composition—a group of terms relating to the sphere of material and spiritual culture, and to "break up" this stratum into a series of chronological layers. The most ancient layer includes terms which are fixed in all Dravidian languages and most likely date back to the period of proto-Dravidian cultural and language community. Glottochronological calculations show that this should refer to the period preceding the end of the 4th millennium B. C.

Soviet scholars have not yet completed their work of studying the ethnogenesis of the Dravidian peoples, but one can already speak more definitely of certain characteristic features of the material and spiritual culture of the proto-Dravidians, which disclose the roots of the Harappan civilisation, that foundation on which there later ripened the proto-urban and urban culture of the Indus Valley in the 3rd millennium B. C.

Judging by the linguistic reconstruction carried out by Soviet scholars (primarily the works by N. Gurov), even before the break-up of the Dravidian language community, the Dravidian-speaking population, in addition to hunting and fishing, knew a settled, highly developed agriculture as well as cattle-breeding. The common Dravidian vocabulary includes terms connected with all the basic stages of the agricultural process, which was carried on on a large scale and was the main occupation of the population—ploughing, sowing, reaping, threshing, etc. The developed agricultural terminology points, undoubtedly, to the leading role of agriculture in the life of Dravidian tribes in the most ancient period of the proto-Dravidian community. The range of terms connected with cattle-breeding, hunting and fishing is also sufficiently representative. The vocabulary connected with building technique and the type and character of dwellings is of exceptional importance for reconstructing the material culture of the Dravidian tribes in that period. Judging by these data, the Dravidians at that time already had permanent settlements with a sufficiently developed architecture. Houses were built of wood, could be two-storeyed (there is a special term for the "upper storey"), roofed with thatch or tiles, and were spacious.

Common Dravidian terminology meaning "to borrow", "to pay a debt", "to steal—thief", "to guard a herd", and also development of the meaning of "man, person—servant, slave", "possessor (of something)—proprietor", etc., indicates the character of social relations and, in particular, the existence of the institution of private ownership. A group of "cult terms" shows that the system of beliefs corresponded, on the whole, to the religious notions characteristic of early-agricultural cultures. Thus "Dravidian (proto-Dravidian) society" was quite developed both as to the level of material culture and social relations in the period of Dravidian (proto-Dravidian) linguistic unity. In the light of this material and the new methods of reconstruction and interpretation, the traditional viewpoint of the highly primitive nature of Dravidian society in the period of Dravidian (proto-Dravidian) linguistic unity must be revised. The conclusion to which Soviet Indologists have come is quite important for the understanding of the general processes of the ethno-cultural development of the Dravidian peoples at the dawn of their history.

Comparative-historical research makes possible a conditional delineation of the geographical area of the Dravidian (proto-Dravidian) community. The range of botanical, zoological, and broader, of ecological terms, is evidence of the fact that the break-up of Dravidian linguistic unity was already going on in the north-western regions of ancient India or areas geographically close to it.

Complex research shows that the Harappan civilisation grew up on the base of local, well-developed cultures, and was the natural result of this process. The "sudden appearance" of this civilisation, as many scholars earlier assumed, is out of the question. This is corroborated not only by new archaeological material, but also by the results of research on proto-Indian writing and culture conducted by Soviet scholars. This conclusion agrees with the results of the many years of work, which is being successfully carried on by Indian scholars. Close co-operation between Soviet and Indian scholars is a pledge of success in this important branch of scholarship.

We have dealt in such detail with problems of Harappan culture and the works of Soviet scholars on the deciphering of proto-Indian writing since these questions are being heatedly discussed in Indian science and arouse great interest in the country's scholarly circles.

There is hot debate among experts as to the reasons for the decline of the Harappan civilisation, or to be more precise, of the urban centres in the Indus Valley. Various explanations are being offered. Excavations of Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia have shown that the ancient farming civilisations in the south of Central Asia underwent an internal crisis at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C., with urban life coming to a standstill and the population leaving urban centres and moving to new territories. A "barbarianisation" of culture was under way. Similar phenomena were to be observed in the later period of the Harappan civilisation. Central Asian material allows one to speak more definitely also of an internal crisis of the Harappan civilisation in the later period of the history of urban centres prior to the invasion of Indo-Aryan tribes. One may assume that, during the period indicated, in the urban civilisations of ancient India and Central Asia typologically similar processes of internal crisis of culture were taking place.

Excavations by Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia yielded new and important material for the solution of such a controversial problem as the Aryan problem. Despite the efforts of scholars over many years, this problem is to a large extent still unsolved. It is not clear from where and by what routes the Indo-Aryans came to Northern India. Research by Soviet scholars in Central Asia show that it was only from the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C. that any active migrations of groups of steppe tribes took place and these tribes penetrated into the centres of farming cultures. Professors B. Litvinsky and A. Mandelshtam suggest that material from burial grounds in Southern Tajikistan can be compared with that of Aryan (and even Indo-Aryan) tribes. They proceed from the assumption of the obvious closeness of the grave furnishings, discovered in the burial grounds, with the funeral practice of the Vedic tribes reflected in the *Rigveda*. This supposition deserves special attention in the light of the new discoveries in Pakistan (in Swat).

New excavations in Central Asia give grounds for assuming that it was precisely from Central Asia towards India that steppe tribes moved in the middle and latter half of the 2nd millennium B. C. Several groups were the direct forerunners of those Indo-Aryans with whom scholars associate the creators of the *Rigveda*, although this conclusion still needs further substantiation.

It is not accidental that Indian archaeologists (B. B. Lal, B. K. Thapar, J. P. Joshi), when analysing the "Aryan problem", widely use the results of Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia and try to reveal similar historico-cultural processes.

It is necessary to single out the period of the Achaemenid empire and of the campaign of Alexander the Great as a special period in the history of Central Asian-Indian relations. It is known that along with some regions of Central Asia (Bactria, Sogdiana, Parthia, Khorezm) some districts of North-Western India (the province of Gandhara and territories along the river Indus) became part of a single empire. Graeco-Roman sources provide evidence that Indian warriors served in the army of the Achaemenids, and it also included inhabitants of Central Asia. Relations were particularly active during Alexander the Great's campaigns, when he conquered both some regions of Central Asia and territories in North-Western India.

In the 2nd millennium B. C., when the Sakas (in Sanskrit sources the Shakas) and other tribes moved across Pamir into Northern India, they brought with them many elements and traditions of Central Asian culture. One may point out the finds of iron swords in Taxila, which apparently go back to Central Asian tribes, and disc-shaped bronze mirrors, widespread in Central Asia. Evidently, the wide use of cavalry and horse harness in Northern India is also connected with the Saka tribes. The Sanskrit word *jayana* is similar to the ancient Iranian word *zaya*—weapon, tool, as well as *zaena*—weapon, *zayan*—armed, which is met with in the *Avesta*. This word, like the word *varabana*—"breastplate", came into Sanskrit most likely not earlier than the 6th-4th centuries B. C. and was given rise to by contacts between North-Western India and nomadic Central Asian tribes, first and foremost the Sakas.

New excavations by Soviet archaeologists on "the roof of the world", the Pamirs, uncovered numerous burial grounds belonging to the Pamir Sakas. More than 250 Saka burial mounds were found in the valleys and on the mountain slopes of Eastern Pamir, sometimes at a height of more than 4,000 metres. The grave furnishings testify to its closeness to the Scythian world, which is explicitly confirmed by the finds of objects in the "animal representation style". In this connection it is extremely interesting that excavations also revealed links of the Sakas of Pamir with India. Cornelian beads, with typical Indian ornamental designs, were found in Saka graves in Eastern Pamir, obviously having come from India. Finds of blinkers made from shells, similar examples of which were also found in India, are very interesting, as also is the fact that to this day a shell is the symbol of the eye among a number of Indian tribes. Thus, one may postulate that ties between the Pamir Saka and India were established long before the Saka tribes, having traversed the "hanging pass", appeared in Kashmir. Ancient texts tell of the movement of the Sakas across the "hanging passage". Many scholars were doubtful of the possibility of the Sakas crossing Pamir and penetrating into India, but new excavations in Pamir showed that the links between Pamir and India were already firmly established even before the 2nd century B. C., when, according to written sources, the Sakas moved to India.

However, relations between Central Asia and India reached their broadest scale in the Kushana period, when the Kushana empire was being formed and many territories of Central Asia and a considerable area of Northern India became part of a single state. The Kushana era was an important landmark in the historical and cultural development of the East. Peoples and tribes, differing as to *ethnos*, language, culture and religion, entered into close interaction. The territory of the mighty empire stretched from the shores of the Aral Sea to the Indian Ocean.

The multifarious cultural, trade and economic ties of Central Asia with regions of Hindustan, Afghanistan and Iran in the Kushana period were a continuation of the close contacts which already existed between the peoples of this region in the Achaemenid period. The closeness of cultures was determined by numerous common features of the ethno-cultural legacy.

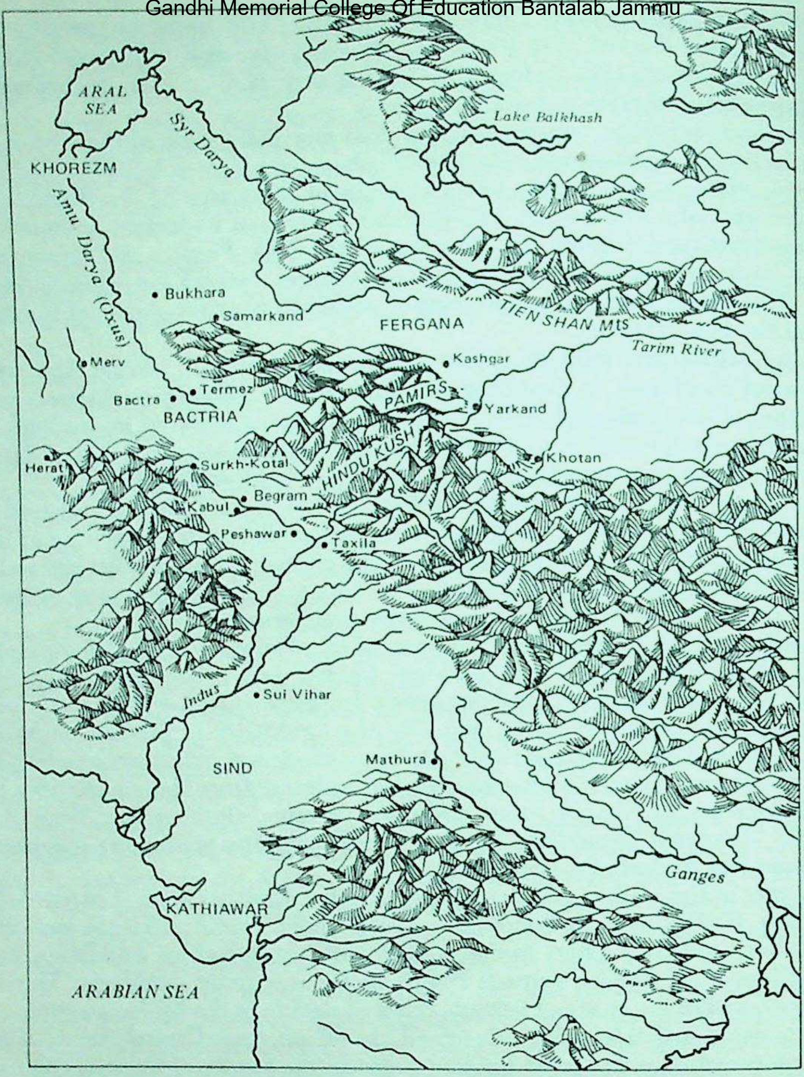
Judging by inscriptions of the Kushana period, Central Asians who settled in India adopted Buddhism and even occupied governmental posts. One of the Kushana inscriptions in Taxila speaks of the building of a Buddhist shrine by Bactrians. The Kshatrapas Vanaspara and Kharapallana, who appear as Buddhist donors, are mentioned in inscriptions from Sarnath.

Kushana coins provide clear evidence of the dissemination and the coexistence of Zoroastrianism, widespread in Central Asia at this time, alongside Indian religions (Buddhism and Shaivism). Kushana coins found in India bear representations of Iranian gods, and also of a local deity of the Central Asian river Vakhsh–Ohsho, who according to some scholars merged iconographically with the Indian Shiva. The Kushana period sculpture from Mathura testifies to the influence of Central Asian traditions on arms, clothing, etc. Thus, the specific "Scythian" headdress on the imperial sculptures of Mathura is unusual for India, but typical of Central Asia.

In the initial period of the existence of the Kushana state, Central Asia played a leading role in interrelations with India. Indian influence was felt much less, and only later, in connection with the spread of Buddhism, did the influence of Indian cultural traditions become quite significant. This is clearly traced in the study of cultural relics of Bactria in the Kushana period.

The Bactrian-Tokharistan art school, based on local Central Asian traditions, added one of the most brilliant pages to the history of Oriental culture, and, it may be, of all mankind, although comparatively recently specimens of the art of Kushana Bactria were looked upon as an imitation of the Gandhara school of ancient India, or as a sharp departure from its traditions. The Gandhara school was considered to be unique and all-embracing in the history of ancient Indian culture in this period.

Kushana art was often assessed as pure Buddhist in character. Some scholars suggested that Gandhara art is Graeco-Buddhist in content and that it was the result of the mutual influence of Greek art and Buddhism. Others considered Gandhara art to be the result of the consolidation of Roman traditions on Indian soil. Central Asian art relics were often interpreted as a synthesis of Indian and Graeco-Roman traditions, but with a strong influence of the "barbarian element".


ARAL SEA
KHOREZM
Syr Darya
Amu Darya (Oxus)
Lake Balkhash
Bukhara
Samarkand
FERGANA
TIEN SHAN Mts
Tarim River
Merv
Kashgar
Termez
Bactra
BACTRIA
PAMIRS
Yarkand
HINDU KUSH
Khotan
Herat
Surkh-Kotal
Begram
Kabul
Peshawar
Taxila
Indus
Sui Vihar
SIND
Mathura
Ganges
KATHIAWAR
ARABIAN SEA

**The Kushana Empire**

New discoveries by Soviet scholars in Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe in Southern Uzbekistan (expeditions led by Professor G. A. Pugachenkova) brought to a revising of the old ideas about the origin and character of Kushana art. The very name "Gandhara art" became conventional. The area of the first discoveries of sculptural relics in Gandhara was considerably enlarged as a result of archaeological work in various regions of the Punjab, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Scholars now have sufficient evidence at their disposal to be able to speak of the existence of an original, and quite independent, Bactrian school of Kushana art, which came into being on its own, and earlier than the formation of the Gandhara school. Moreover, the Bactrian school (with a strong secular trend) had a great influence on the development of the Gandhara school and on Kushana art in general. Later on, in connection with the spread of Buddhism, the influence of Indo-Buddhist traditions can be traced in both the art of Kushana Bactria and the art of Central Asia in general, although a local Bactrian trend continued to exist and nourish alien cultural elements and traditions. The Buddhist relics in Termez (excavations in Kara-tepe), the reliefs in Airtam and the sculptures in Dalverzin and Khalchayan provide clear evidence of this.

In order to picture more clearly the specific character of Bactrian art and the stages of its development, it is essential to remember the basic periods in the history of the development of both the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and the succeeding states. The creation of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom in Central Asia in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. led to the strengthening of Greek traditions in this part of the ancient world, although there existed a stable local basis. The extension of the borders of the kingdom to the south and south-east (including some regions of North-Western India) facilitated acquaintance with Indian culture. The flowering of Khalchayan (on the banks of the Surkhan Darya) dates back to this period: the citadel was built and mighty fortress walls grew up around the city. Coins that have been found remind one of the march of Demetrius into India—they have an elephant skull above the ruler's head.

Some time passed and then first Saka tribes came to the Surkhan valley (hence the name Saganian), to be followed by the Yueh-chi. Five small unions were formed in Bactria. One of the rulers, Heraios, began to issue coins with an inscription mentioning Heraios and his dynasty... The foundations of the Kushana statehood were being laid. Under Kadphises I the domains of the Yueh-chi rulers were united.

Khalchayan was also expanding, undergoing a sort of second birth, as it were. A palace, adorned with beautiful sculptures and paintings, was built. In the opinion of Professor Pugachenkova, who headed the archaeological expedition in Khalchayan, audiences were given and banquets held in the palace, and its whole design was aimed at the glorification of the ruling family. This palace has analogies among buildings of Taxila, dating to the beginning of the 1st century A.D.

Material from excavations of the Khalchayan palace gives a most vivid idea of the original Bactrian school and the Bactrian contribution to the formation of the Gandhara school and Kushana art in general, but the importance of the research work in Khalchayan is considerably wider than just this. Dating back to the Saka-Yueh-chi period (i. e. the initial period of the formation of the Kushana kingdom in Northern Bactria), Khalchayan provides graphic evidence of the independent development of local schools of architecture and sculpture. Having absorbed the best Hellenistic traditions, the Khalchayan complex is not a hybrid but a deeply original phenomenon of Bactrian artistic culture.

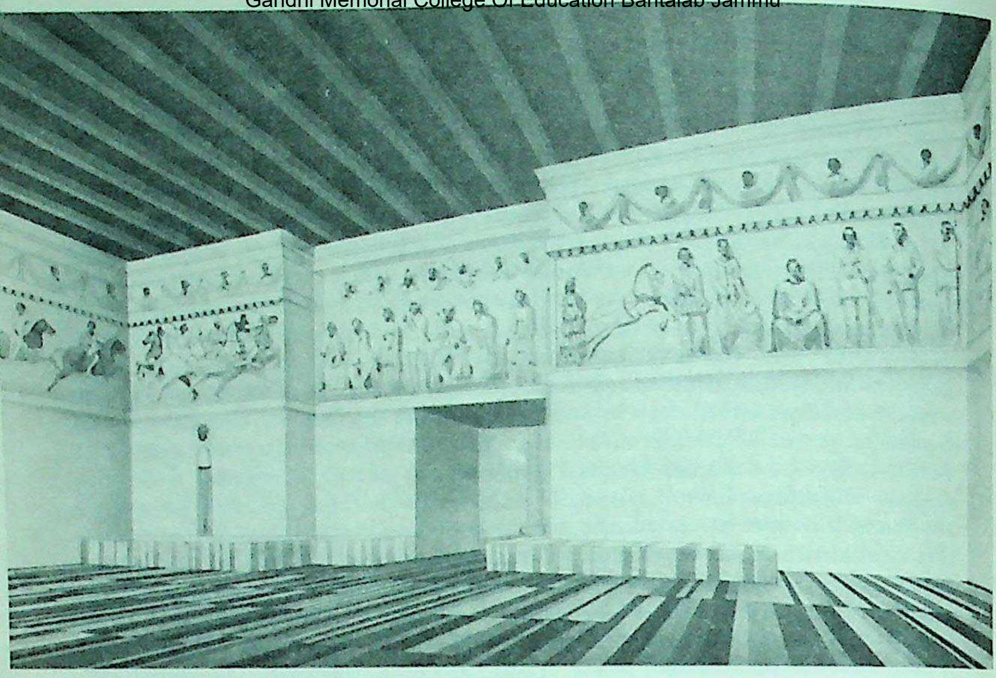
Professor Pugachenkova dates the Khalchayan palace as belonging to the 1st century B. C., although some Soviet scholars suggest that this dating is somewhat too far back and propose dating Khalchayan to the early 1st century A. D. (the problem of Kushana chronology remains to this day one of the most complicated problems of Oriental studies). Excavations of the Khalchayan palace have shown that local architects attached great importance to the interior design, and made wide use of colour. The placing of sculptures was subject to the general plan and a decisive rhythm. Wall sculpture was placed in the upper part of the walls. Walls were plastered below. Above there was a two-metre zoophorus and above that a half-metre frieze. The frieze had representations of children garland-carriers, girl musicians, satyrs and dancers. These motifs have no direct parallel in Graeco-Roman art, but form part of the so-called Dionysian motifs that had spread in Central Asia. The Khalchayan palace affords a clear picture of the interpretation of the bacchanal theme in North Bactrian art. We may also recall the Dionysian festivals in North-Western India mentioned by Graeco-Roman authors when telling about Alexander the Great's campaign.

The figures on the zoophorus are particularly remarkable, constituting a whole portrait gallery of what are obviously real historical persons—the first representatives of the ruling Kushana dynasty, perhaps successors of Heraios, about whom we know from numismatic data. The ruling dynasty and its military victories are glorified. The scene with swiftly galloping archers repeats the traditions of Scythian art from the Central Asian steppe. It is well known that Central Asian tribes of Scythian-Sarmatian origin played no small part in the development of the Kushana *ethnos* and culture. This became obvious as a result of the latest archaeological excavations by Soviet scholars in Central Asia. In representations of the harpist and the lute player are also reflected certain traditions of Indian art, although this does not necessarily testify to Indian influence, but may, on the contrary, mean that artistic features that took shape in Bactria were transferred to North-Western India where they became firmly established. The female musician is depicted with a lute having a rounded frame. Such a lute appeared in Gandhara art only in the first centuries A.D., and therefore Professor Pugachenkova suggested that this musical instrument was brought to India from Bactria in the Kushana period, insofar as a prototype of the lute was not known in India earlier.

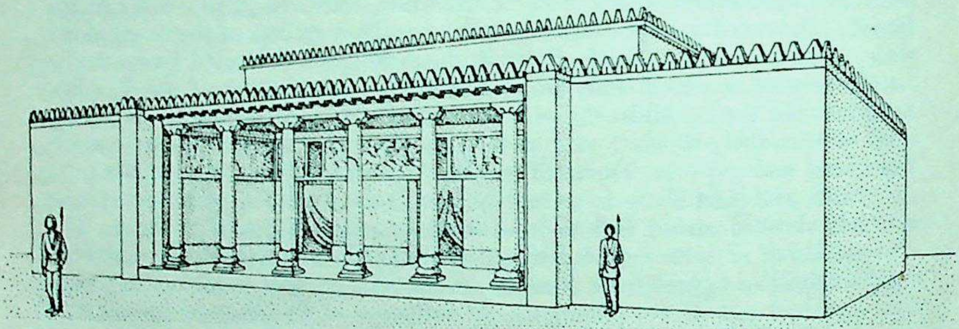
The figures of local rulers give an idea of the early Kushana state on Bactrian territory (where from the Kushanas moved into India), material which is extremely interesting for comparison with the sculpture from Mathura—the later period of Kushana history and culture. Thus, the clothing and headgear of the Khalchayan ruler, his grandees and warriors have analogies in Mathura sculpture, a fact witnessing to the influence of Central Asia on Kushana India. The dress of Khalchayan personages may be compared with the dress of Kanishka (the famous statue from Mathura) and the Gandhara reliefs of the first centuries A.D.

The Khalchayan excavations are of particular significance since they have helped to single out the initial stage in the creative synthesis of local Bactrian and Kushana traditions. Of extreme importance also is the fact that the Khalchayan relic appears, as it were, in "pure form", without the influence of Buddhist artistic canons. In the last centuries of the 1st millennium B. C. India did not play a vital part in the formation of Bactrian architecture and Bactrian sculpture. On the contrary, it was precisely Bactria and Eastern Parthia that provided that nourishing medium, which, on the basis of a synthesis with pure Indian artistic tradition, exerted influence on the formation of what is known as the Gandhara school of sculpture in India. In the first centuries A. D., under the Great Kushanas, a reverse process was going on, when this school and the Buddhist conception fertilising it encroached on the art of Tokharistan with full force.

Exceptionally interesting material on the development of Bactrian art in the Kushana period and the nature of the influence of Indian culture on it was obtained by Soviet scholars from excavations in Dalverzin-tepe in Southern Uzbekistan. In the opinion of the leader of the excavations, Professor Pugachenkova, it was in Dalverzin that the original capital of the Yueh-chi was situated (according to written sources it was located to the north of the Amu Darya). Judging by the excavations, there existed here, as early as the 3rd-2nd centuries B. C., a Graeco-Bactrian city, which acquired particular importance and grew rapidly over the 1st century B. C. and the 1st century A. D. It was surrounded by a mighty fortress wall. Archaeologists discovered complexes that were of vast size: blocks for the rich and for craftsmen, living quarters and administrative buildings, a temple, as well as other structures. The utmost development of the city took place during the reign of Kadphises II and Kanishka. A small Buddhist shrine, measuring 11×10 metres, was excavated not far from the city walls of Dalverzin-tepe. Remains of a *stupa*, decorated with numerous sculptures, have survived. The monks used to go in procession around the *stupa* in a special corridor, a custom known as *pradakshina*. Archaeologists distinguish two basic chambers in the shrine—the temple and the "hall of the rulers". The Buddhist shrine was obviously built at the beginning of the 1st century A.D., as is evidenced by coins of Kadphises I and Kadphises II which were found there. Scholars think that Buddhism in Bactria reached its heyday in the first centuries A.D., in the era of the Great Kushanas. The temple was small—5.5×1.8 metres, nevertheless there were statues of the Buddha and other figures of the Buddhist cult in it, the latter surrounding, as it were, the figure of the Buddha that stood in the center. The "hall of the rulers" was also decorated splendidly—a sculptural composition consisted of the figure of the Buddha, figures of monks, exalted men (obviously, members of the ruling clan), their wives and high officials. Possibly this setting was intended to symbolise faithfulness of the local ruler and his court to the teaching of the Buddha. Sculptures in the Buddhist shrine stood against the wall (the backs of the figures were roughly worked, and seemed to adjoin the wall). They were made from clay and gypsum. Traces of paint have survived (the usual colours were red, white and light blue). In style they were in the traditions of Indo-Buddhist art, but showed strong influence of local Bactrian sculptural tradition. The comparison of sculptures from Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe leads to interesting results. The figures from Khalchayan are of a portrait type and very realistic and had not as yet undergone the influence of Buddhist traditions. The statues from Dalverzin-tepe date to a later period and reflect the evolution of the local Bactrian school of art already connected at this stage with Hellenistic and Indo-Buddhist traditions. Not only the Buddhist personages from Dalverzin-tepe deserve special attention, but also the secular sculpture. While the figures of the Buddha, the *Bodhisattvas* and the monks are done in the canonical style, close to the Gandhara Buddhist sculptures, the secular figures are carried out in local artistic traditions. Like the Khalchayan sculpture, the secular sculpture from Dalverzin-tepe is also of a portrait type, but less realistic, more generalised and marks the beginning of the idealisation of characters. Pugachenkova assumes that the specific iconography in the conveyance of minor Buddhist characters had evolved in Bactria in the first centuries A.D.



A palace. Khalchayan (Reconstruction)

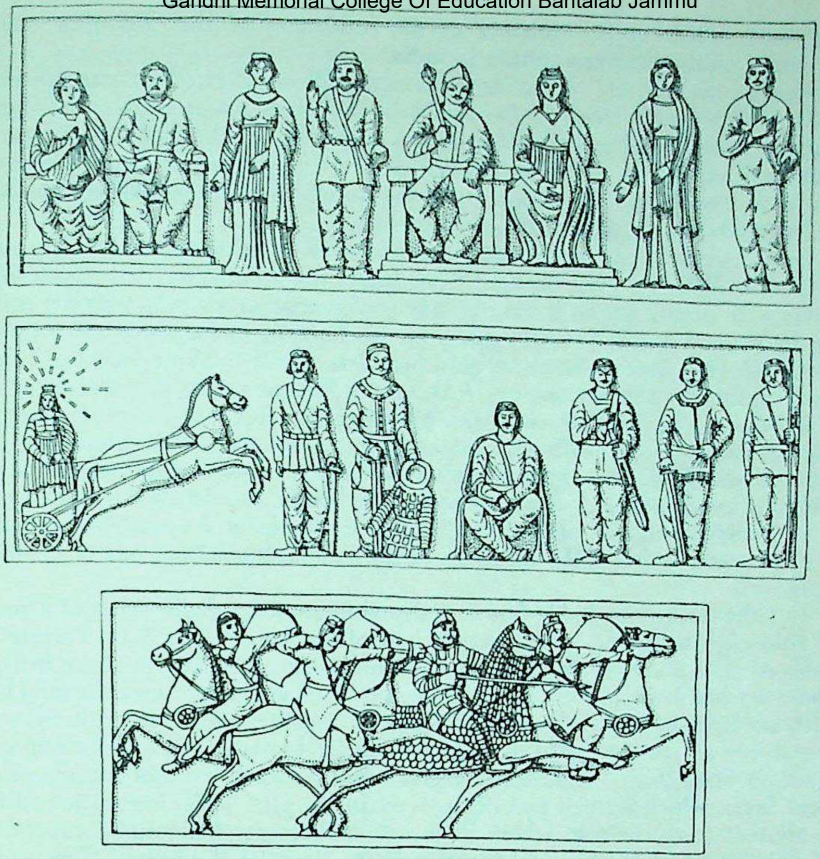


Façade of a building. Khalchayan (Reconstruction)

and influenced Buddhist traditions of India.

The style of Dalverzin portrait sculpture was further developed in the era of the Great Kushanas, which is most vividly reflected in the art of Mathura. The technique of sculpting in Dalverzin reflects a transitional stage from the clay sculpture of Khalchayan to the use of gypsum.

The combination of the two traditions—the Indo-Buddhist and the local



Sculptural frieze. Khalchayan

Bactrian—is interestingly embodied in the "portraits" of young worshippers: their faces are done in the local style, while their hair is evidently curled in the Buddhist style. Among the sculptures in the "hall of the rulers", the head of a prince is of exceptional interest. It is a remarkable relic of the local school of art, done in the traditions of Kushana secular sculpture. The conical head-dress of the prince is frequently seen on coins of the Kushana rulers and is to be found on sculptures from Mathura. One may suppose that this form of headgear originated in Central Asia, and that on relics of the Mathura school it is merely a reflection of Central Asian traditions. The sculptures of local grandees are also distinctive. These relics enable us to envisage not only the specific character of Bactrian art in the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D., but give us "living portraits" of the local inhabitants of varying social status. We also learn about how the ancient inhabitants were dressed. Thus the peculiar baggy trousers and shirts, typical of Kushana attire, are also to be met in Mathura sculpture, which again witnesses to the influences of the "Bactrian steppe dwellers" on the Kushana culture in India.

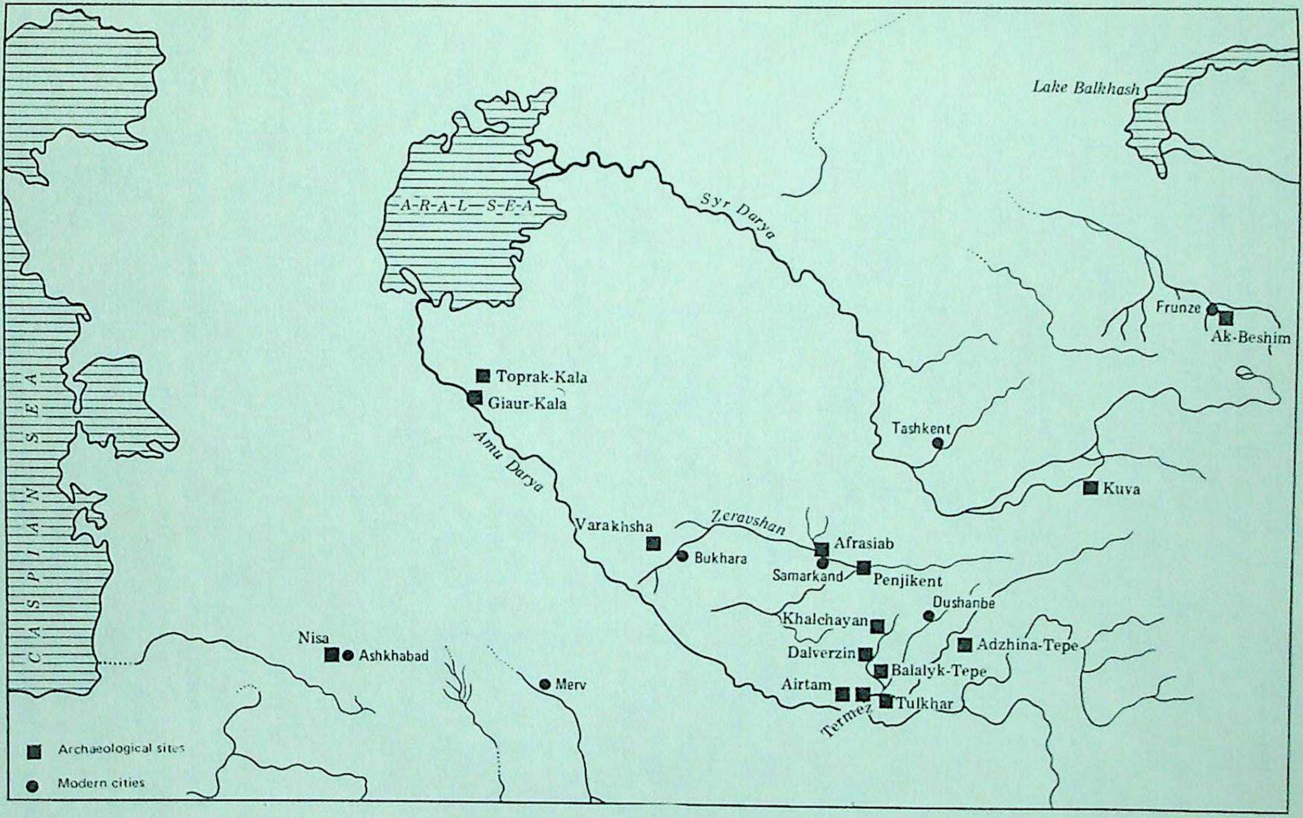
Despite the support of the local rulers, Buddhism did not become the most influential religious trend in Central Asia. At times it was engaged in rivalry with local cults and beliefs. This, too, was the fate of the Buddhist shrine in Dalverzin: obviously, either in the 3rd or at the beginning of the 4th century it was destroyed and the sculptures of the Buddha and the monks were broken up, evidently by adherents of Zoroastrianism.

During excavations in Dalverzin a whole series of other objects, having clear Indian parallels and even brought from India, was found: an ivory comb from India, with portrayals on it (on one side was an aristocratic lady with her maid, on the other a married couple riding on an elephant, and a young girl showing them the way), ivory chessmen, gold bracelets similar to those found in Taxila strata dating to the 1st century A.D., and a fortune-telling die, clearly of Indian origin. The find of chessmen indicates the very early acquaintance of Central Asian people with this Indian game, while the representation of the zebu as one of the chessmen is connected with very ancient Indian traditions. The impression of a seal, made on one of the bricks, should also be mentioned: it was a representation of the Buddha seated on a lotus flower. Obviously this seal belonged to one of the followers of the Buddha's teaching, one of the local craftsmen.

But the most remarkable find in Dalverzin-tepe was the discovery of a hoard of gold objects, dating to the second half of the 1st century A.D. Various articles of gold jewellery (hoops, ear-rings and plaques) similar to those in Gandhara art had been placed in a pitcher, but most important were the gold bars with inscriptions in the Kharoshthi script. Altogether, eleven inscriptions were found, ten of them on gold bars and one on a gold plate. The inscriptions were made in "Gandhari" Prakrit, widespread in the North-Western regions of ancient India, which formed part of the Kushana empire. These inscriptions differ in content from the rest, which are mostly dedicatory, and contain indications of the weight of the bar, its owner and sometimes of the person from whom the gold was obtained. Among the names one meets Mitra (*mitrena dite*—"given by Mitra") and Kalyana (Kalanasya), and there is also mention of the *shramanas*, to whom, evidently, the gold originally belonged. Possibly these gold bars were meant for making sculptures of the Buddha, and for decorating sacred cult objects. The inscriptions were studied by the Leningrad scholar M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya.

Notwithstanding the small amount of information provided by the Dalverzin inscriptions, their significance is very great: they not only supplement evidence of the ties between ancient Bactria and India, but they also tell about the life of Buddhist *sanghas* in Central Asia. On the whole, as a result of the discoveries in Dalverzin-tepe scholarship has been enriched by new and very valuable material on Bactrian culture in the Kushana period, material revealing the character of the contacts between Central Asia and India, and the ways and forms of exchange of cultural achievements. The study of the complex synthesis of local Bactrian, Hellenistic and Indian components, which form the basis of this distinctive art, is of major scientific interest.

In connection with the problem of Bactrian art in the Kushana period and the interaction of local, Hellenistic and Indian traditions, the sculptured frieze from the Airtam temple, dating back to the 1st-2nd centuries A.D., deserves


Lake Balkhash
A-R-A-L—S-E-A
C A S P I A N S E A
Syr Darya
Amu Darya
Zeravshan
Frunze
Ak-Beshim
Tashkent
Kuva
Toprak-Kala
Giaur-Kala
Varakhsha
Bukhara
Afrasiab
Samarkand
Penjikent
Dushanbe
Khalchayan
Adzhina-Tepe
Dalverzin
Balalyk-Tepe
Airtam
Tulkhar
Termez
Nisa
Ashkhabad
Merv
■ Archaeological sites
● Modern cities

Map showing important archaeological sites in Soviet Central Asia special attention. The ancient settlement in Airtam arose as far back as the Graeco-Bactrian period, but acquired special importance only in the Kushana period, when Buddhist monks and Buddhist monuments appeared there. Judging by coins that have been found, cult structures were erected and a Buddhist monastery founded during the reign of Kanishka. Excavations revealed the remains of a small temple and two *stupas*. Fragments of Buddhist sculptures, including images of the Buddha, are evidence that there once was a large cult centre here. The famous Airtam frieze formed a part of the sculptural complex, ornamenting the entrance to the shrine. The frieze was made from white limestone squared off into blocks up to 40 centimetres in height, and the figures were represented in high relief. Human figures were placed between large acanthus leaves. This rounded sculpture, as it were, is a technique characteristic of the Gandhara school, but the style and traditions of the Airtam figures is quite original and connected with the local artistic school. There were fourteen figures on the frieze—five of them musicians, two hold garlands in their hands, one is holding a bowl; it is hard to determine the appearance of the others as they have not been fully preserved. The female musicians on the frieze are playing a harp, a lute, a double flute, cymbals and a small drum.

The most expressive are the figures of the girls playing on the harp, the lute and the small drum. There is no unanimity among scholars in the interpretation of the composition of the Airtam frieze. The well-known Russian Indologist Sergei Oldenburg assumed the representation of the musicians to be the *Pancamahashabda*—"The five great sounds of Indian mythology". Some archaeologists (for example, G. Pugachenkova) are inclined to interpret the Airtam frieze as a reflection of the *Mahaparinirvana Sutra*, the Buddhist story on the great *nirvana* of the Buddha. The influence of Indian artistic traditions (first and foremost of Mathura) can be felt in the Airtam frieze, although in general it was created on the basis of local traditions of the Bactrian school, of which the secular trend is particularly characteristic.

Although the faces on the frieze are done in a generalised manner, without any particular individual features, in the style of the Indo-Buddhist tradition of idealised images, nevertheless, the purely folk basis of this monument is clearly visible. Possibly, it was not only and not so much the standards of the Buddhist art canon that the local craftsmen followed—they also conveyed the style and character of Bactrian festive processions. The creative combination of Indo-Buddhist and Bactrian features is displayed in the clothing and adornments of the personages in the frieze: the rich ornaments and attire of the harpist seem to convey Gandhara traditions (one must also include here the representations of flowers, bowls and garlands carried out in the Indo-Buddhist style), but the special shape of the harp (triangular) and the specific headdress of the harpist are typical of Central Asian art tradition.

A major scientific event was the discovery in Airtam, in 1979, during excavations of a Buddhist complex, of a sculptural block with fragments of figures, and, above all, of a Bactrian inscription of six lines (some 260 letters have survived), engraved in the upper part of a pillar. The inscription from Airtam is the first Bactrian monumental inscription to be found on the territory of Central Asia (well known is the famous Surkh-Kotal inscription from Northern Afghanistan). The particular importance of the inscription from Airtam lies in the fact that the text contains a date which refers to the reign of the Kushana ruler Huvishka (it will be recalled that all Indian Kushana inscriptions, which bear Huvishka's name, are dated according to the "Kanishka era") and thus is so far the only epigraphic monument with a date referring to the reign of Huvishka. Possibly, this tradition was characteristic for Northern Bactria. The inscription also has the name of the engraver—"born (by the god) Mitra". The inscription has been read and published by Professor V. Livshitz (Leningrad) and E. Rtveladze (Tashkent).

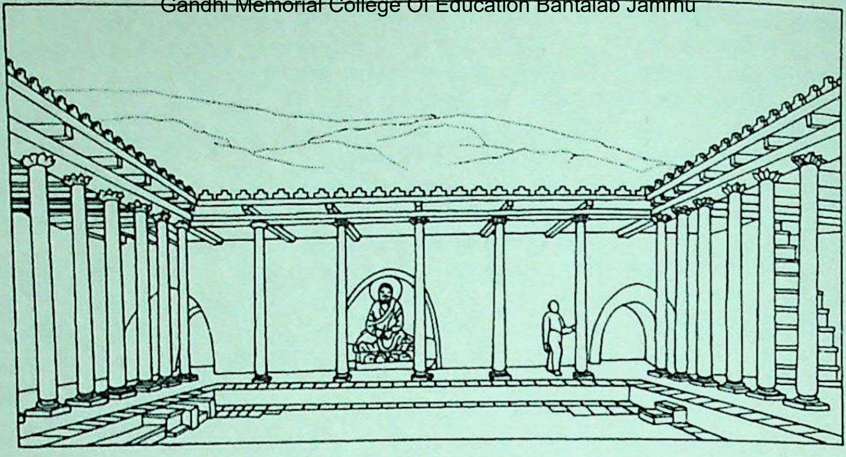
The next stage, connected with the significantly greater influence of Indo-Buddhist traditions, can be perceptibly traced on materials from the excavations in Kara-tepe (the expedition led by Professor B. Stavisky).

The Buddhist monastery in Kara-tepe, excavated by Soviet archaeologists (not far from the modern city of Termez), provides clear evidence of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia, which had come here from India, the country of its origin. Termez, as is shown by numismatic finds, existed in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C., but underwent extensive development in the Kushana period. The architecture of this cave monastery (so far the only known Buddhist cave complex in Central Asia), finds of a number of objects (lids in the form of a lotus, *chatras*—large umbrellas, etc.) and the very idea of a *stupa*, together with inscriptions on vessels and the walls, tell of the obvious influence of Indian traditions, for cave complexes are not characteristic of Central Asia, but are typical of ancient India.

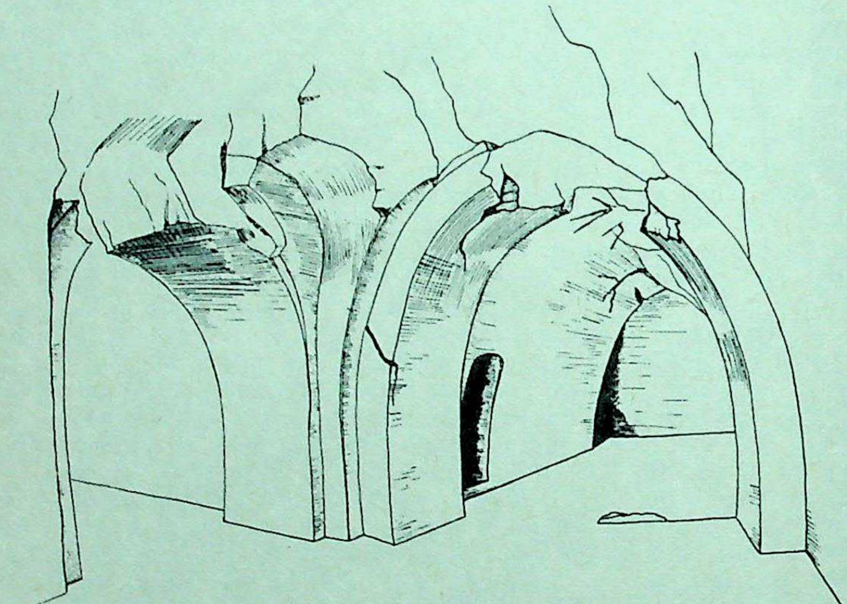
A number of cave structures were exposed in the course of the excavations, part of which were small cave-temples, consisting of enclosed shrines, surrounded on all sides by circular corridors (up to 17 m long, up to 2.9 m wide and up to 2.5 m high). Each temple had two external exits with a monk's cave cell near one of them, obviously for the attendant monk. Traces of paintings—geometrical patterns and a representation of a Buddhist *stupa*—survived on the walls near the entrance to the cave-temple. Finds of fragments of stone reliefs in the cave-temples suggest that these cave shrines were decorated with stone reliefs and sculpture. There were evidently stucco sculptures in the courtyards, as their fragments were discovered during excavations. A large part of the bigger fragments of the sculptures that were found were hollow inside. Hollows from small wooden rods were visible in the fingers, while impressions of fabrics were preserved inside separate parts. Possibly there existed in Kara-tepe a technique similar to that used in Buddhist clay and stucco sculpture in Eastern Turkestan in the post-Kushana period and the early Middle Ages (evidently, this technique came to Eastern Turkestan from Central Asia). It is well known that sculptures there were made on a wooden frame, wound round with tufts of grass and a piece of fabric, while the hands, feet, and sometimes the head, were set on sticks. Archaeologists discovered a similar technique for making sculptures in a number of other places in Central Asia, for example, in Khorezm and Parthia. However, the technique used in Kara-tepe was different too—sculptures were made on clay blocks without the wooden carcase.

The remains of reliefs on the capitals show that the reliefs carried representations of people, *makaras*, animals—lions or tigers, acanthus leaves, that is motifs which could be used in Gandhara art. However, the capitals themselves differ from those of Gandhara and, in fact, form a group of Bactrian capitals of the Kushana period.

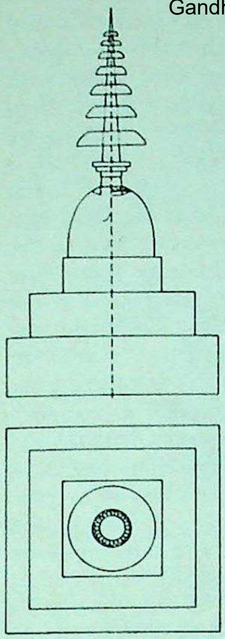
It is significant that features of the local Bactrian school of art and local cultural traditions are retained in what is obviously a Buddhist complex.



Buddhist monastery. Inner courtyard. Kara-tepe



Corridor of a Buddhist cave-temple. Kara-tepe



A *stupa*. Kara-tepe

Together with this one can trace the process of creative assimilation of external traditions, including Indian ones, by the local population. This is demonstrated, for example, in the plan of the structures (the building of circular corridors, typical of local building rules). The special planning of the monastic structures in Kara-tepe (a shrine with three or four circular corridors) enables it to be regarded as a contribution by local Buddhists to Buddhist architecture. A similar design is typical of cult buildings in Central Asia, Iran and the Middle East, but is alien to early Buddhist architecture and is met with only later, in the early Middle Ages.

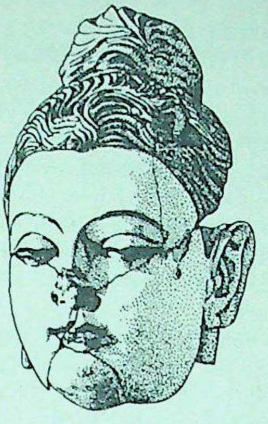
The creative approach to the assimilation of Indian and Buddhist traditions can also be traced in epigraphic material. Followers of Buddhism in Bactria did not simply translate Buddhist texts from Sanskrit but interpreted them in their own way. Local variants of Indian scripts were elaborated. Particular mention should be made of the discovery of a bilingual text in the *Brahmi* and *Kushana* scripts, in which mention is made of a certain Buddhashira, called a great preacher of the *dharma–mahadharmakathika*. The affinity of Kara-tepe inscriptions to certain epigraphic relics from India points to the penetration of written tradition directly from India. The inscriptions are, as a rule, very fragmentary, nevertheless scholars succeeded in reading not only some of the words (for example, vessel, gift, on the day, etc., names of the Buddhist schools, names of Buddhist teachers), but the entire texts of the inscriptions. They are written in the *Brahmi* and *Kharoshthi* scripts. The majority of inscriptions found are Buddhist dedicatory inscriptions, one of them containing the name of a monk–Sanghapala. Votive inscriptions from Kara-tepe, written in the *Kharoshthi* script, are similar, palaeographically, to Prakrit inscriptions from North-Western India, but separate letters (*aksharas*) in the Central Asia writing acquired a specific character (there is the view that this took place under the influence of the *Brahmi* script, which was used here along with *Kharoshthi*). If the inscriptions in *Kharoshthi* were written in Prakrit, then the inscriptions in the *Brahmi* script were in a Hybrid Sanskrit. Judging by the Prakrit inscriptions, Prakrit was subject to the influence of Sanskrit, a process that was also characteristic of the Kushana inscriptions of India. Certain inscriptions clearly point to the influence of the local Bactrian language, which penetrated various cultural spheres. It is interesting that in the Indian inscriptions from Kara-tepe one meets the local Bactrian appelation "*vihara* of the king" (the Bactrian term denoting "king" is transmitted in the *Kharoshthi* script as *Khadevaka*). Among Sanskrit inscriptions in *Brahmi*, the inscription on a vessel, the full text of which has survived, is of special interest. The Soviet Indologist V. Vertogradova succeeded in reading and translating the inscription and came to the conclusion that the text contains a tendency against the ideal of the *Theravadins* (*Sthaviravadins*)—the *Arhat* (*Arhant*) and proclaims the new ideal of the *Bodhisattva*. One of the inscriptions bears the term *mahakaruna*, which points to the spread of the *Mahayana* ideas among the Buddhists of Kara-tepe. It is possible that in the monastery of Kara-tepe a struggle was going on between the followers of the *Hinayana* and the *Mahayana* (the latter gained special importance during the Kushana period). Controversy was also typical of many Buddhist monasteries in India. If Vertogradova's interpretation is correct, then one can also pick out the basic theme of the debates in the *viharas* of Kara-tepe: the estimation of the idea of *arhatship*.

This conclusion ties in well with the results of researches on the inscriptions from Kara-tepe, carried out by the well-known Hungarian scholar J. Harmatta, who also came to the conclusion that followers of the Buddhist schools of the *Sarvastivada* and the *Mahasanghika* were living in Kara-tepe in the Kushana period. In his opinion the inscriptions in the *Kharoshthi* script are connected with the *Mahasanghikas*, and those in *Brahmi* with the *Sarvastivadins*, who appeared here in the time of the Great Kushanas.

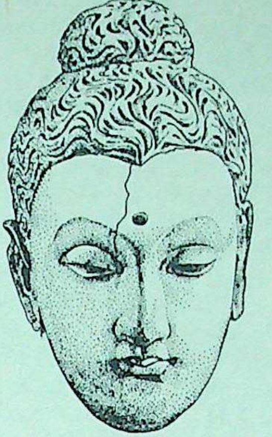
On the whole, the inscriptions from Kara-tepe are a most valuable source on the history of Buddhism in Central Asia, shedding light on the life of Buddhist monks, the relations between various Buddhist schools and the interaction of Indo-Buddhist and local traditions.

The latest excavations in Kara-tepe provided interesting material on the development of painting in Central Asia in the Kushana period. Fragments of paintings depict buddhas and *bodhisattvas*, also the Buddha and monks. Even in these paintings of a purely Buddhist character one feels the influence of local artistic traditions: the faces of donors are not done in the Gandhara style but in a manner close to the Bactrian canons of the Kushana period. But the very idea of representing the Buddha in a characteristic pose had, undoubtedly, come from India. Professor B. Stavisky suggests that the manner of representing the donors in the Kara-tepe paintings, carried out within the framework of dynastic local art of the Kushana period, had an impact on Indian art.

Not far from Kara-tepe, Dr. L. Albaum, an archaeologist from Uzbekistan, discovered another, no less interesting Buddhist complex—Fayaz-tepe. Excavations enabled the basic architectural appearance to be disclosed: a temple with a *stupa*, a monastery structure adjoining it, and household buildings. Numismatic finds (including coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva) enable



**Head of the Buddha. Fayaz-tepe**



**Head of the Buddha. Hadda. Afghanistan**

one to date the monument as belonging to the 1st-3rd centuries A.D., when the monastery was undoubtedly functioning. On excavating the buildings, murals were discovered on the walls, mainly of a Buddhist character (representations of the Buddha and donors). Clay-and-alabaster sculptures were also found. However, of particular interest is a sculptural composition in which the Buddha sits under a tree with monks on either side. The work is very skilfully done, and in manner is reminiscent of the Gandhara school of art.

Excavations are continuing in Kara-tepe and Fayaz-tepe, and one may hope that new and important material on the development of Buddhism in ancient Bactria will become available to Indology and Buddhology.

An outstanding achievement was the discovery in Fayaz-tepe of a number of inscriptions (they are being investigated by the Leningrad scholar Dr. M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya), which are Prakrit, in the *Kharoshthi* script. They usually contain the names of Buddhist donors and parts of the sacred "Buddhist formulae". In a number of instances one meets a reference to the *Mahasanghika* sect, which is in accord with data from Kara-tepe. Excavations of Buddhist monasteries of considerable size in Kara-tepe and Fayaz-tepe enable one to speak of the considerable influence of Buddhism in Bactria in the Kushana period. A bilingual inscription from Kara-tepe points to the monks being familiar with Indian and local languages and with various types of script. One may assume that in Bactria Indian works were translated into the local Bactrian language, in which preaching was also conducted. Obviously, literary works too, as well as religious texts, reached Central Asia, and the peoples of Central Asia were directly acquainted with the achievements of ancient Indian culture.

The problem of the character of Central Asian Buddhism in the Kushana era is most complicated, but from written sources we know of the important part played by Bactrian Buddhist monks in the development and dissemination of Buddhism. According to Buddhist tradition the monk Ghoshaka, from Tokharistan (Tukhara), was one of the compilers of the commentary (*Vibhasha*) on the *Sutra-*, *Vinaya-* and the *Abhidharma-pitaka*. This commentary was approved at the Buddhist Council in Purushapura (now Peshawar) during the reign of Kanishka. After the Council Ghoshaka returned to Central Asia. Dharmamitra, who was born in Tarmit (now Termez in the Uzbek SSR), is considered to be the commentator of the *Vinaya-sutra*. According to tradition, it was he who translated the works of the *Vaibhashika* school into Tokharian.

If this information is to be believed, then the *Vaibhashika* school was established in Bactria-Tokharistan in the Kushana period, forming part of the *Sarvastivada*. The *Sutra-alamkara* reports on the relations of Central Asian Buddhists with their neighbours. Its authorship is frequently ascribed to the well-known writer and Buddhist scholar Ashvaghosha. This composition says that a native of Pushkaravati (now Peshawar) came to the territory of the modern city of Tashkent for the furnishings of the *vihara*.

Through Central Asia Buddhism spread to the Far East, China and Eastern Turkestan. Many Central Asian monks were to be found in China in the first centuries A.D., where they translated Buddhist texts and wrote commentaries on them, and to all intents and purposes, introduced Buddhism into China. Among the first preachers of Buddhism in China was a large group of Central Asian descent; for example, we know the names of Parthians An-shi-kao and An-Hiuen, the Yueh-chih Chi-lu-kia chau (Somakshema in Sanskrit) and Chi-yao, the Sogdians Kang Mong-siang and Kang-kiu. The best known among them is the Parthian An-shi-kao, who lived from 148 to 178 in Loyang and worked on translations of the *Hinayana* Buddhist texts into Chinese. He was also an expert astronomer. In this way, many elements of both Indian and Central Asian cultures spread to China along with Buddhism. Chinese culture took in many of the achievements of Central Asian civilisation.

Judging by material from archaeology and written sources, Buddhism was widespread in Central Asia in the first centuries A. D., and played a perceptible part in the ideology of the peoples of this region. The spread of Buddhism expanded and strengthened Central Asian and Indian cultural ties, led to the appearance of new forms of architecture, sculpture, painting and iconography, as well as to the exchange of knowledge in the fields of medicine and astronomy. However, all these innovations were creatively reworked in the Central Asian environment. In the bilateral Central Asian-Indian relations many attainments and elements of Central Asian culture penetrated into India, and along with this, from Central Asia many elements of Indian culture were transmitted further to the East.

Excavations of monasteries in Kara-tepe and Fayaz-tepe confirmed the information from written sources of the important role of Buddhism in Central Asia in the first centuries A.D. Only a few years ago scholars had no archaeological data on Buddhist monuments in Central Asia, but at present monuments of Buddhism and Buddhist culture have been discovered in many regions of Central Asia. There appeared the real possibility of reconstructing the basic stages in the history of Central Asian Buddhism, and of attempting to determine its character.

One may suppose that the first followers of the Buddha arrived in Central Asia as far back as the Achaemenid era, however there is no direct information about this.

It is most likely that information about the Buddha and his teaching reached Central Asia during the reign of the Indian emperor Ashoka. In recent years the inscriptions of Ashoka have been discovered in Kandahar, moreover, his *dharma* edicts are obviously addressed to the local population—one of them is a Graeco-Aramaic and is bilingual. Probably there were in Arachosia at that time followers of the Buddha's teaching, or people who were familiar with Buddhism.

Ceylonese chronicles, and also the commentator of Sinhalese chronicles, the monk Buddhaghosha, who lived in Ceylon in the 5th century A. D., reported on the despatch during the reign of Ashoka (after the Third Buddhist Council at Pataliputra) of Buddhist missions to Kashmir, Gandhara, the country of the Himalayas and the country of the Yonas (Yavanas), the latter referring to the territories of Arachosia where the Yonas lived, and it was to them, in all probability, that the Greek texts of the inscriptions of Ashoka, discovered in Afghanistan, were addressed. The information from Ceylonese chronicles about the Buddhist missions sent to the above-mentioned regions was confirmed by the discovery of inscriptions containing the names of preachers mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicles. One may assume that from Afghanistan, Kashmir and neighbouring regions, closely linked with Central Asia, Buddhism penetrated into the southern regions of Central Asia, and Buddhist preachers acquainted the Bactrian population with the Buddha's teaching.

The history of Buddhism in Central Asia may, with full justification, be said to start from the period of the formation of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, which included North Indian regions, parts of Afghanistan and Central Asian areas.

The coins of some Graeco-Bactrian rulers carry a representation of a Buddhist *stupa*, and the coins of the famous ruler Menander have a representation of the Buddhist symbol—the wheel (*cakra*). According to Buddhist tradition, Menander was a follower of the Buddha's teaching. He was also known as Milinda, and carried on discussions with the Buddhist scholar and sage Nagasena on the essence of the teaching of the Buddha. Unfortunately, there is still very little direct evidence of the first steps of Buddhism in Central Asia, however more and more material is becoming available every year. Researchers of Central Asian Buddhism turn not only to epigraphy and numismatics, but also to written sources (sometimes quite far removed in regard to time and place of compilation), trying to find in them new facts or new evidence on the historical and cultural links of Central Asia and its neighbours.

Professor B. Litvinsky turned his attention to the *Mahavamsa*, a chronicle of Ceylon compiled in the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century A.D., which was based on the more ancient Sinhalese chronicles. The *Mahavamsa* contains interesting information to the effect that during the reign of Duttagamani (the end of the 2nd-1st centuries B.C.), for laying the foundations of the Great *Stupa*, Buddhist monks—*bhikshus*, came from different countries, including some from the country of Pallavabhoga and the city of Alasanda, the country of the Yonas. *Pallava* evidently meant the Pahlavas—the Parthians, and the word *Alasanda*, as indicated by the outstanding French scholar S. Lévi, meant Alexandria in Paropamisadal near Kabul. It is quite possible that the *Mahavamsa* reflected real events connected with the spread of Buddhism in Parthia during the 2nd-1st centuries B.C.

Thus, there are quite sufficient grounds for dating the penetration of Buddhism into the southern regions of Central Asia as the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. However, the wide spread of Buddhism in Central Asia dates to the first centuries A. D., the period of the Great Kushanas. This, to a large extent, was promoted by the policy of religious tolerance pursued by the Kushana rulers. The Kushana pantheon, representations of which we find on coins of the Kushana rulers, is convincing proof of religious syncretism and tolerance. Three pantheons are represented on coins, the Iranian, Indian and Hellenistic.

Buddhism, Jainism, Shaivism, Zoroastrianism and the Manichaean religion and local beliefs were widespread in various regions of the Kushana state in the Kushana period.

The study of the relations of world religions is of special interest, of religions, for example, such as Buddhism, with various local beliefs, insofar as the spread of Buddhism was not connected with the absorption of local religious trends. In Central Asia most characteristic were the relations of Buddhism and Manichaean religion in the first centuries A.D. Buddhism influenced the pantheon, religious practices and certain ideas of Eastern Manichaeanism. Researchers assume that one of the central ideas of this religion—the confession of sins—was borrowed from Buddhism. Some Manichaean texts are constructed like Buddhist *sutras*; Mani is given the title *Bodhisattva*, and is sometimes also called Mani-Buddha, his end is called *nirvana*.

Discussing Central Asian-Indian relations, one should mention such an important cultural centre as Khorezm, where Soviet scholars have made interesting discoveries as a result of many years of excavations.

Surrounded by desert, Khorezm was far from India, nevertheless here too one can trace cultural links with that country, which find their reflection in the monuments of the Khorezm civilisation.

Over a number of decades Soviet archaeologists have been studying the history and culture of Khorezm, the tangible results of the work of the Khorezm expedition led by the late Professor S. Tolstov.

The palace of the Khorezm rulers Toprak-kala, that has been unearthed under the salt-marshes, is of special interest.

Toprak-kala is a large settlement, rectangular in plan, with numerous towers, dating back to the 3rd-4th centuries A. D. Above the ancient city there arose a huge palace, built on a twelve-metre-high platform. This platform was intended to protect the castle from subsoil waters and earthquakes.

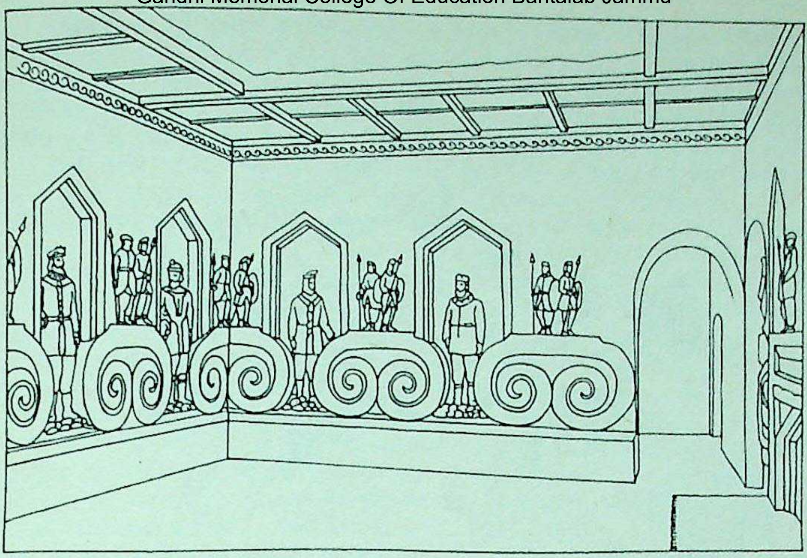
A number of halls were discovered in the palace and given picturesque names—"hall of the harpist", "hall of kings", "hall of warriors", "hall of deer", "hall of victory", "room of dark-red ladies", and so on.

During excavations fragments of paintings and sculptures, reflecting cultural contacts with India, were discovered.

The most interesting object in the so-called hall of the harpist is the representation of a young woman playing a harp, which provides clear evidence of the influence of the Gandhara school, although it obviously also has local features and traditions. Hellenistic features are also beyond doubt, the figure seems to emerge from a thicket of acanthuses.

We may recall the resemblance of this scene to the Airtam frieze, one of the brilliant examples of Bactrian art of the first centuries A.D.

Sculpture played an important part in the design of Toprak-kala. At one time sculptured groups were placed in special niches in the "hall of kings", but only fragments of the sculptures have survived. Evidently sculptures of the Khorezm rulers were displayed here, and possibly those of the patron dei-



Hall of Warriors. Toprak-kala (Reconstruction)

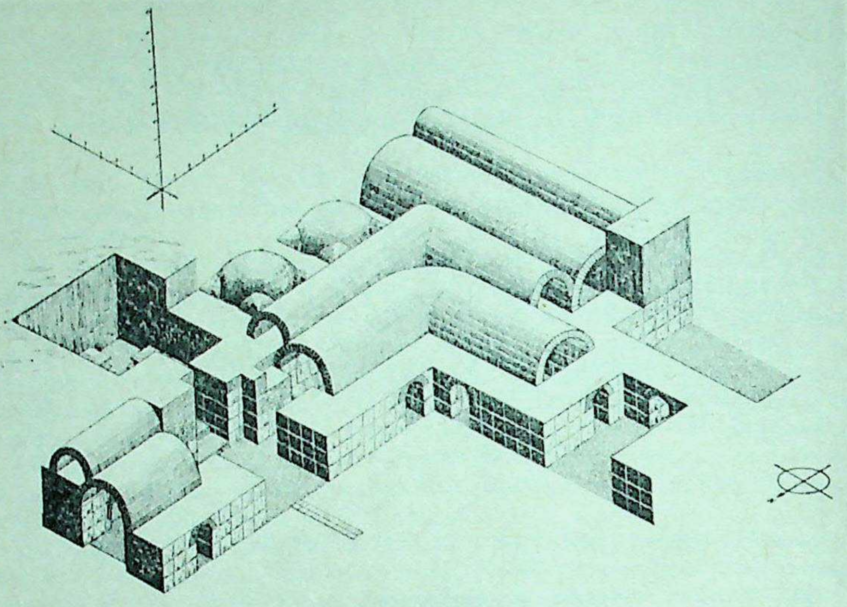
ties. Some of the figures have features resembling Indian sculpture (in pose, dress, etc.) of the Kushana period.

The figures from the "hall of warriors", the so-called dark-skinned guards, are of particular importance in connection with the problem of the relations between Khorezm and India. They are dark-complexioned and have thick lips. In the opinion of Professor Tolstov, these guards, "with their Dravidian features", formed the ruler's bodyguard and were from Southern India. This bold hypothesis undoubtedly needs further confirmation but the possibility of direct contacts between Khorezm and India in the Kushana period is entirely feasible.

Buddhism had retained its importance in Central Asia also in the post-Kushana period. We know this not only from written sources but first and foremost from the discoveries made by Soviet archaeologists, the most interesting of which are those made in Adzhina-tepe in Tajikistan.

Adzhina-tepe is a small mound measuring 100x50 m. Here archaeologists, led by Professor B. Litvinsky, discovered a Buddhist monastery, sculptures and paintings. Judging by the numerous coins, more than 300 in all, the monastery functioned in the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The inscription in *Brahmi* from Adzhina-tepe dated palaeographically to the 7th-8th centuries A.D., also provides evidence of this. Unfortunately, the text has been poorly preserved, but the Buddhist character of the inscription is obvious.

The whole was a unified ensemble of buildings for living and cult structures of a Buddhist monastery (*sangharama*). The monastery, as is typical of all Buddhist monasteries, consisted of two parts, the temple and the monastery. Well preserved are the monks' cells, surrounding a courtyard (19x19 m), and the halls used for assemblies of the *sangha*, as dining-halls and halls for worship.



**Reconstruction of the south-eastern part of a Buddhist monastery complex. Adzhina-tepe**

Excavations in recent years have shown that the monastery part was a two-storey building, as is shown by the stairs leading to the upper storey. The central hall was of quite considerable size: 10.25x9.5 m. Its roof was supported on columns, and near the entrance, on a pedestal, was the enormous figure of the standing Buddha. Judging by the head that was found, the figure was not less than 4 m high. In the centre of the temple part there was a *stupa* with a staircase leading upwards. Both parts of the monastery communicated with one another. There were corridors around the *stupa*, along which the monks and laymen went to worship.

On the sides there were niches in the walls with figures of the Buddha. The sculptures were of various size, sometimes reaching one and a half times human size. There were murals on the walls and arches, depicting Buddhas in various poses, all shown seated on special pedestals, but the position of the hands and the head differed in each figure. The colour of the dress also varied. The number of paintings that has survived is not very large, but when the monastery was functioning paintings covered all the walls and ceilings of the main buildings. The painting technique was close to the traditions of India and Ceylon: first a linear drawing was made, then the inner space was coloured. True, a second working up of the ready drawing was also made (a similar technique is to be found, in particular, in Ajanta).

Remarkable are scenes of offerings, the so-called scenes of *pranidhi:* wealthy donors in white clothing are bringing gold and silver vessels containing flowers in honour of the Buddha. The faces of the donors are surprisingly reminiscent of the faces of local people. The scene from Adzhina-tepe is analogous to the famous paintings of Sigiriya, a remarkable page in the art of ancient Ceylon.

The offering of flowers is a custom widespread in Indian religious practices (*puja*), and was reflected in Gandhara art and in Ajanta. Of interest is the clothing of the donors: the fabric covering the whole body forms free folds. On the waist the caftan is drawn in by a belt, to which are fastened a sword and a dagger. The rich attire and the weapons of the donors point to the fact that they represent the propertied strata and not the ordinary worshippers.

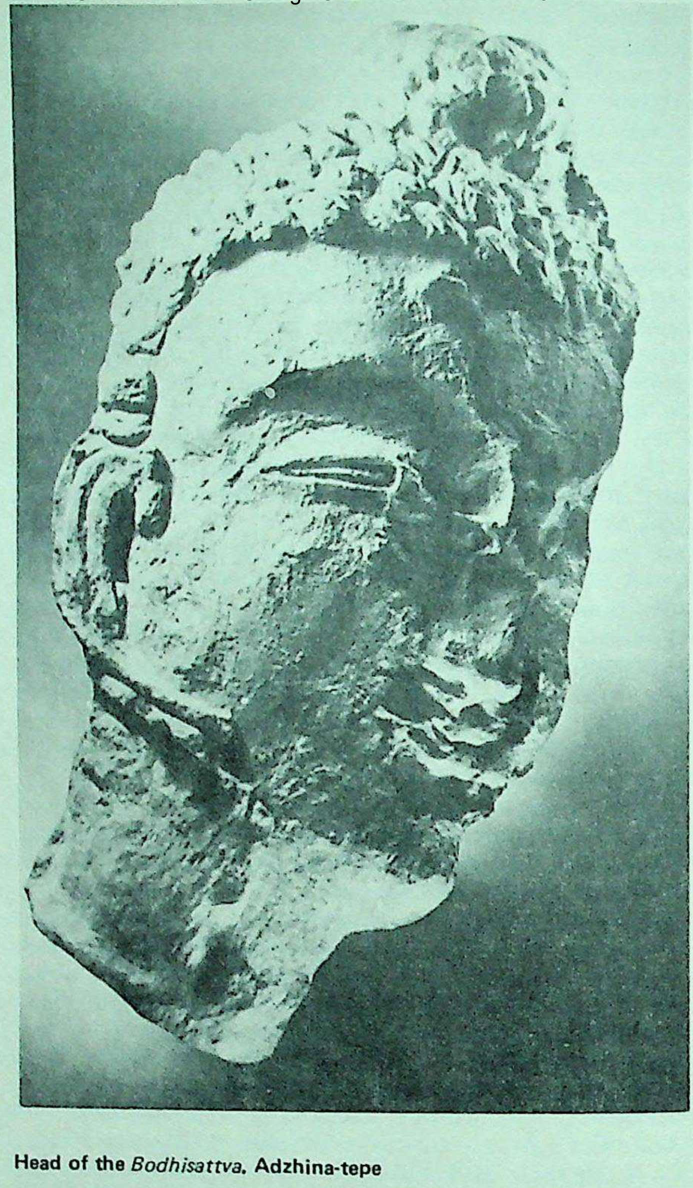
Although the painters were obliged to subordinate their artistic portrayal to religious ends, they did not follow a rigid canon but introduced their own concept of the world into their work. The great artistic skill filled the paintings with vitality, noticeably enlivening the canonical forms. Secular motifs also occupy a prominent place side by side with the religious painting.

All the structures of the monastery were built of undressed blocks and adobe. The long narrow chambers were vaulted, while the square cellae had cupolas, the apertures were arched and made from adobe. All the sculptures decorating the monastery were also made of clay. After the figures had been made (for the most part by moulding), they were painted (the figures of Buddhas were variously coloured: the cloaks were red, the soles of the feet white, and the hair black or dark-blue).

The most impressive detail in the temple is the enormous figure of the Buddha (about 12 m). Some details speak most eloquently of the size of the sculpture—thus, the palms of the hands are 132 cm long, the feet from 165 to 190 cm, and the toes are up to 46 cm. The whole body of the Buddha, with the exception of the hands and the soles of the feet, was, as it were, wrapped in a cloak, *sanghati*, which is girdled by a cord round the waist; the feet are in sandals. Judging by the remains of the painting, the cloak was red, and the face, hands, and soles of the feet white. The figure was first made from adobe which was then covered with clay.

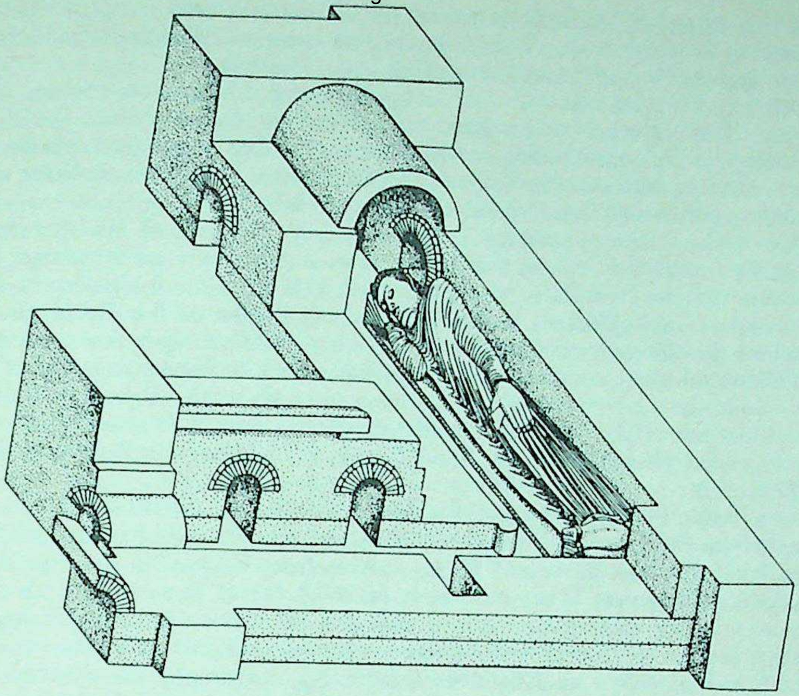
It is interesting that the gigantic figure of the Buddha in Southern Tajikistan has something in common with the famous sculpture of the Buddha in Polonnaruva, the ancient capital of Ceylon. The Ceylon colossus is somewhat smaller than the Central Asian, and of a later period—it is dated to the 12th century A.D., however both are made in similar manner. This coincidence is not accidental, but is evidence of the wide spread in the Buddhist cultural world of its southern branch—the *Hinayana* artistic principles, which, in spite of the influence of local cultures and traditions, preserved their unified base. In this connection it is appropriate to remember once again the arrival in Ceylon of Buddhists from Central Asia (Parthia), of which we are told in the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahavamsa*.

The monastery in Adzhina-tepe was built in accordance with general Buddhist tradition. The influence of Indian Buddhist art is quite obvious. It must, however, be noted that the Tokharistan masters did not blindly follow generally accepted canons. It is precisely the excavations in Adzhina-tepe that showed how stable local traditions were, and how original were the architectural and artistic schools of ancient Tokharistan. Local sculptors and painters, builders and architects made use of traditions and skills already formed in Central Asia, and efficiently combined them with the cultural traditions of neighbouring countries, first ·and foremost India and Afghanistan (Fundukistan). The use of the cultural traditions of the Gupta era, the heyday of ancient Indian culture, may serve as an example of this.



**Head of the** ***Bodhisattva*****, Adzhina-tepe**

It was, in its way, a creative synthesis of Indian (Indo-Buddhist) and Bactrian artistic traditions that led to the appearance of the original Tokharistan school of art. Materials from Adzhina-tepe point to the special importance of the local Bactrian school, and confirm the importance of Central Asian traditions in the formation of early medieval art over a considerable area from Afghanistan to Eastern Turkestan. As a result of excavations in Central Asia



**The Buddha's *nirvana*. Adzhina-tepe (Reconstruction)**

some art critics-Orientalists were obliged to acknowledge the enormous impact of Central Asian artistic traditions on the formation of the arts in Iran, Afghanistan and Eastern Turkestan. Recent excavations have explicitly confirmed the opinion of the well-known Italian scholar M. Bussagli that the traditions which developed in Northern India were in fact an echo of Central Asian traditions.

A true masterpiece of Adzhina-tepe is its clay sculpture. Here too one can trace the influence of Indian art side by side with local Bactrian-Tokharistani features. In addition to the strong influence of Gandhara traditions, the influence of Gupta art is noticeable: this shows itself in the dress and the way the Buddha's hair is represented. It is worthy of note that the Buddhist monastery contained not only sculpture of a religious character (the Buddha and the *Bodhisattvas*) but also secular sculpture. And while the figures of the Buddha are according to the canon, and those of the *Bodhisattvas* are carried out in the spirit of Indian (Indo-Buddhist) tradition, in the representation of lay people and monks one notices the influence of the local Bactrian school, which developed and flourished as early as the Kushanas, when Bactria became the nucleus of a mighty empire.

The figures of the lay benefactors are of great interest. One of the sculptures is, in the opinion of scholars, a representation of the sage Kashyapa. Separate sculptures are so expressive and realistic that one is involuntarily enchanted by the artistic talent of the ancient masters and by their aesthetic taste. During recent excavations a most interesting sculptural composition was discovered, in which was told the legend of the prince Siddhartha, who, before abandoning the "world", took leave of his horse Kanthaka.

Buddhist monasteries were not only places of religious ceremonies and worship. The important educational role played by the celebrated Buddhist monastery in Nalanda (India) is well known. Possibly Buddhist monasteries were centres of education in Central Asia too. Indian literature, medicine and astronomy penetrated into Central Asia along with Buddhism.

The Adzhina-tepe monastery is not the only evidence of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia in the first centuries A.D. As a result of new excavations led by Prof. B. Litvinsky in Kafir-kala (not far from present-day Kolkhozabad in Tajikistan) a Buddhist shrine, similar to the Adzhina-tepe complex, was discovered. The domed chamber (3.4x3.4 m) was surrounded on all four sides by an arched corridor; a similar architectural plan is typical of many Buddhist monuments of the Kushana and early medieval periods. Traces of pictures tell of the art of the local masters who were well acquainted with the canons of Buddhist art (the lotus flower, the head of the Buddha with a nimbus, etc.).

As a result of recent excavations carried out by the South Tajik expedition, led by Professor B. Litvinsky, a Buddhist temple, dating to the 6th-8th centuries A.D., was discovered 80 kilometres from Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan. There was a square shrine (4.7x4.9 m) in the centre with two entrances facing each other. It was enclosed on three sides by a Π-shaped passage, and on the fourth had a portico with four columns in front of one of the entrances, with a small courtyard adjoining. Judging by the excavations, clay figures of *lokapalas* stood in the corners of the square shrine on special pedestals, and in the centre, in one of the niches, was the figure of the seated Buddha. Because of the number of figures this hall was given the title "hall of the nine statues". Monks and lay followers of the Buddha's teaching made their *pradakshina* along the circular corridor, where sculptures of the Buddha were placed on pedestals. This ceremony was reflected in the paintings covering the walls and arches of the corridor; behind the monks came distinguished ladies in procession, bearing offerings of lotus flowers for the Buddha. In the upper half of the mural there were figures of the Buddha and his disciples. The fragments of murals and sculpture discovered by archaeologists serve to confirm the high professionalism of the local masters, who creatively combined the traditions of Indo-Buddhist and Central Asian art.

Many monuments of Buddhist architecture and art have been discovered in recent years, and what is most important, written relics, too, consisting of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in the *Brahmi* script.

In the hill Zang-tepe, 30 kilometres from Termez, a fortified 7th-century farmstead was excavated, and twelve fragments of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts on birchbark were discovered. Palaeographically, they were close to the Gilgit manuscripts *Prajnaparamita* and date approximately to the 7th century A.D. Scholars had difficulty in restoring the full text; the reading of fragments, written in diverse variants of *Brahmi*, showed that they represented part of a canonical Buddhist work the *Vinaya Pitaka*. They tell, for example, of assemblies of the community, of alms, of sinful conduct by a monk, etc.

According to Chinese pilgrims, who visited Central Asia, there were about a hundred Buddhist monasteries with approximately three thousand Buddhist monks in Balkh (the capital of Tokharistan) in the 7th-8th centuries. Judging by this evidence, the monks were followers of the *Hinayana*. In I-tsing's diary there is a note on Buddhists in Termez—there were some ten functioning monasteries there with a thousand monks. Thus written data fully corroborate evidence from archaeological excavations and epigraphic evidence.

Buddhist relics dating to the post-Kushana period have also been discovered in other regions of Central Asia besides Tokharistan. This is supported by written sources. The famous Buddhist preacher Sanghavarma also came from this country. It is known that there was a Buddhist monastery in Samarkand at the beginning of the 8th century. Buddhism exerted a definite influence on the Sogdian documents studied and published by the Soviet scholar V. Livshitz. True, no Buddhist relics have been discovered in Sogdiana, but taking into account material from Penjikent, one may hope that they will be discovered. There is quite a lot of archaeological evidence of the spread of Buddhism in other regions of Central Asia.

Two Buddhist shrines have been excavated in Semirechye. The first (Akbeshim) was a rectangular structure (76x22 m). In one of the halls at the entrance to the shrine two pedestals have survived, on which, evidently, there stood statues of the Buddha. The finds of fragments of the leg and foot of an enormous sculpture (the foot is 0.8 m long) corroborates this supposition. In the opinion of Professor L. Kyzlasov, who led the excavations, there was a bronze sculpture of the Buddha in the shrine: small bronze fragments were found in the shrine beside the pedestal.

The shrine in the second temple was also large (10.5x10 m), and was excavated under the leadership of L. Zyablin. Pedestals, on which the figures of the Buddha had possibly been placed, were preserved in the niches. The walls, judging by the fragments, were covered with murals. Amongst the fragments the representation of a large head of a *Bodhisattva* attracts attention.

The material mentioned clearly bears witness to the fact that Buddhism had spread to Semirechye in the first centuries A.D. The excavations of a Buddhist temple in Kuva indicate that the population of Fergana was also familiar with Buddhism. Fragments of a large figure of the Buddha (the head, part of a hand, etc.) are of special interest.

Until quite recently the Bactria-Tokharistan regions were regarded as the extreme western boundary of the spread of Buddhism. However, as a result of archaeological excavations, Buddhist monuments have been unearthed in Merv, the largest city of the Murgab oasis, which for centuries was one of the bulwarks of Zoroastrianism.

Information from written sources that one of the active apostles of Buddhism in China in the 2nd century A.D. was the highly educated Parthian prince An-shi-kao (such is the Chinese transliteration of his name, in which An-shi corresponds to Arshak) provides circumstantial evidence of the penetration of Buddhism into the Parthian environment. Evidently, as far back as the first centuries A.D. Buddhist merchants, engaged in transit operations, came at first to the left-bank middle reaches of the Amu Darya, which comprised the eastern boundary of the Arshakid empire, and then to the Murgab valley as well.

A terracotta figurine from Ak-kala, near Karabekaul, on the left bank of the Amu Darya (Turkmen SSR) provides direct evidence of such an advance of Buddhist communities. According to archaeological and stylistic details, the figurine dates to the 2nd-4th centuries. It depicts a seated *Bodhisattva*, with feet and hands crossed. The face is broad, full, with half-closed, elongated eyes and lengthened ear-lobes. The headgear has raised curls, the body is half-naked, there is a necklace and a rich chain running slantwise from shoulder to shoulder, the arms and the lower half of the torso are enclosed in softly draped fabric. The figurine is made from an excellently formed mould. It is noteworthy that it has production defects: on its back the clay is twisted into a shapeless lump and in some places is flaking off. Naturally an upright Buddhist would not take away a defective example from far away but would take a high-quality figure home to his native land. Obviously, the Ak-kala *Bodhisattva* (as the many other figurines that have been found) was made locally. But the most interesting event was the discovery of two large-scale Buddhist monuments in Merv. Judging by finds of coins of the late-Parthian minting of Margiana and the coins of the Sassanid ruler Shapur I, they are of a much earlier date, going back to approximately the mid-3rd century A.D. It was an architectural complex that included a *sangharama* and a *stupa*. It was located in the south-eastern suburbs of the huge city that Graeco-Roman authors called Margiana town (locally known as Merv).

The *stupa*, made of adobe, was erected in the middle of the 3rd century A.D. and had a high pedestal (13x13 m).

At the end of the 4th-beginning of the 5th centuries the *stupa* was largely rebuilt. It acquired a cylindrical shape, approximately 9 metres in diameter, and obviously ended in a dome-shaped monolith. On the northern side there rose a broad, steep stairway with numerous steps and with corner projections. An enclosed courtyard was in the front. On the corner parts of the platform, on the northern side, two small cylindrical *stupas* were set up, made from adobe, of which only the round bases have survived. It was, obviously, at this time that the monumental clay figure of the Buddha was made.

The Buddhist complex was later destroyed but the worshippers carefully buried the Buddha's fallen head.

The sculpture's head is 75 centimetres high, and is made in accordance with the general Buddhist art canon. Inside the head there was a clay mass, reinforced with some kind of a plant framework, on top of that were layers of thick clay on which the sculptural modelling was carried out. The hair, in the form of snail-like curls, was modelled separately and then fastened on. The face is a full, squarish oval, with a gentle plasticity of features, beneath half-lowered upper lids, cut in relief and casting a deep shadow, there are narrow slits for the eyes. Three layers of paint have been preserved on the face, pink, yellow and red—an indication of the sculpture's renovation. The hair and eyes were light-blue and the lips bright-red.

Another Buddhist architectural complex was situated beyond the eastern city wall of Merv, but only parts of the *stupa* have survived.

With the help of the coins, one may accurately date the end of the existence of the complex as the 6th century.

The find of a Sanskrit Buddhist manuscript not far from the ruins of the ancient city of Merv (the Turkmen SSR) is an extremely important discovery. The manuscript was found in a vessel together with Sassanian coins of the 5th century A.D., and stone statuettes of the Buddha.

The manuscript has over 150 sheets, written on palm leaves, on some of which the pagination has been preserved, and it dates to approximately the 5th-6th centuries A.D. Soviet scholar Dr. M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya is at present preparing the manuscript for publication; preliminary study showed that the manuscript includes several Buddhist texts—some *Sutras* and part of the *Vinaya*. Analysis of the content shows that this was a kind of "summary" of various Buddhist texts intended to be read by Buddhist laymen. Folklore motifs are to be found along with excerpts from canonical texts. It mentions well-known episodes from the life of the Buddha, but the narrative is frequently broken off and not written in full, only the first few phrases from the biography of the Buddha are given—for it was enough simply to remind the faithful of the necessary episode. Thus, the manuscript tells the story connected with the Buddha's second Benares sermon: only the enlightenment and the names of three well-known followers of the Buddha are given, and then a reference is made to the *Avadana*, where the story is told in detail. Several short tales are very similar to the *Jatakas*, for example, about the tortoise (*Jataka* No. 283) and the drum (*Jataka* No. 59). Fortunately, the colophon of the manuscript has survived. In it well-known texts of the *Sarvastivada* are listed (the *Vinaya* of the *Sarvastivada* school), and this enables one to get an idea of the contents of the "disciplinary rules" of this school (such data was previously unknown).

Here is the colophon in full:

"Who should have mercy? The old, the sick, those who suffer from misfortune and enmity, who live in fear or among evil monks. Who should not have mercy? Those who are not old, who are not sick, who do not suffer from misfortune and enmity, who do not live in fear or among evil monks. To decide these questions meetings must be called. Neither the *Pratimoksha-sutra* with the *Vibhanga* nor the *Vinaya-vastu*, consisting of eighteen sections, contain this enumeration. It is also absent in the separate *nidana* (apparently, the *Vinaya-nidana*) and in the *Vinaya-matrika*, *Vinaya-pancika*, *Vinaya-shodashika* and *Vinaya-uttarika*.

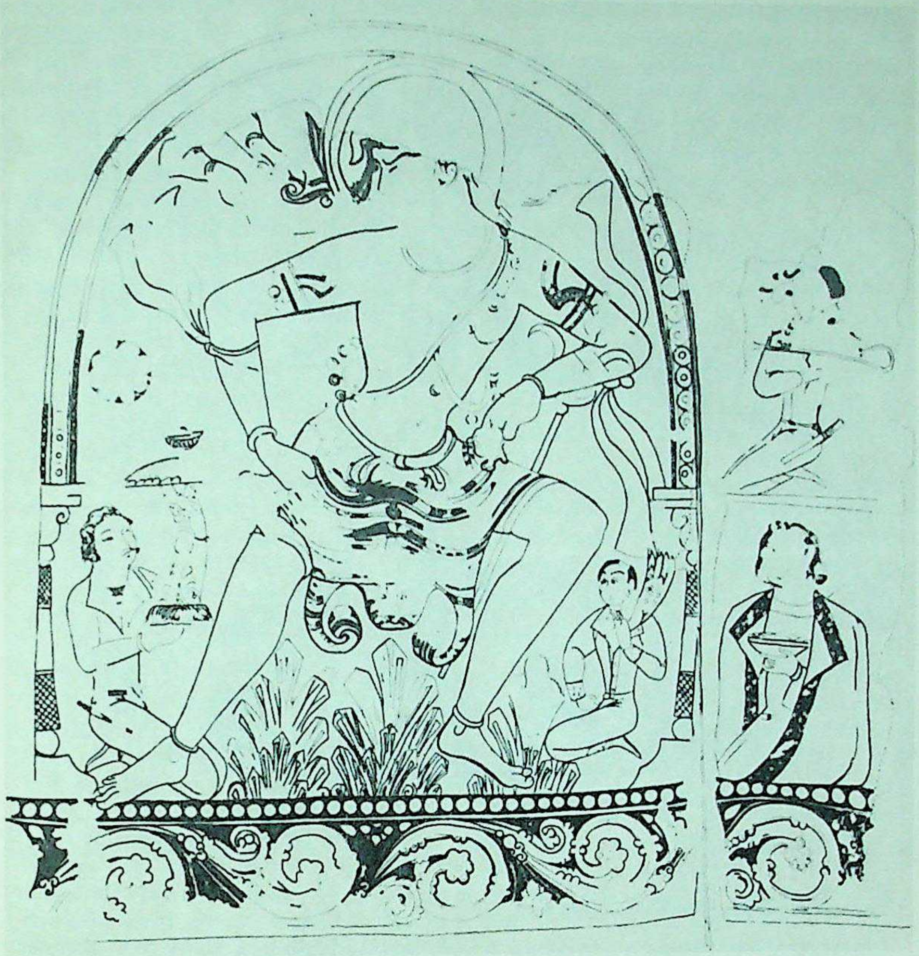
"That is the end of the chapter on the collection of rules entitled: 'The meeting of 500 *bhikshus*, not more and not less than five hundred.' To the person who ordered it to be written with the help of his best friend, expert in *Vinaya*, representative of the *Sarvastivada* school, for the benefit of himself and others. Glory to all Buddhas. May he who copied this *shastra* get rid through it of ignorance."

The scribe, who belonged to the sect of the *Sarvastivadins*, is also mentioned in the text. This is very important evidence for determining the character of Buddhism in Central Asia. Together with data from other inscriptions and Buddhist texts, it enables one to speak with certainty of the considerable influence of the sect of the *Sarvastivadins* in Central Asia. This conclusion is corroborated by earlier written and epigraphic relics of ancient India and finds in Kara-tepe, which point to the existence of followers of the sect of the *Sarvastivadins* side by side with followers of the *Mahasanghika* sect in the vicinity of Termez. It is well known from epigraphy of the early centuries A. D. that Peshawar and Kashmir were two of the main regions where the sect of the *Sarvastivadins* was widespread. It was from Kashmir, evidently, that the followers of the Buddha's teaching reached Central Asia. In the 7th century I-tsing also considered Kashmir to be one of the basic regions from which the *Sarvastivada* sect spread. Buddhist pilgrims have left interesting records which contain, in particular, references to the character of the Buddhist sects in Central Asia and discourse on the *Hinayana* and its followers in this region.

The discoveries of painting in Penjikent, where Soviet scholars have been carrying out excavations for many years, are of great value for the study of Indian-Central Asian cultural ties. Penjikent painting, which has become world famous, provided scholarship with important new material on the ancient links of Central Asia with India, Afghanistan and Iran. A number of scenes are directly similar to Indian art, and in the justified observation of Professor A. Belenitsky, who was leader of the expedition, the murals from Penjikent are joined by many threads to Indian art. One may point, for example, to the depiction of a kind of a dice game which has much in common with the scenes on the bas-relief from Bharhut and murals from Ajanta. It is interesting that a die was found during excavations at Penjikent. A wooden die was found at another point in ancient Sogdiana, on Mount Mug.

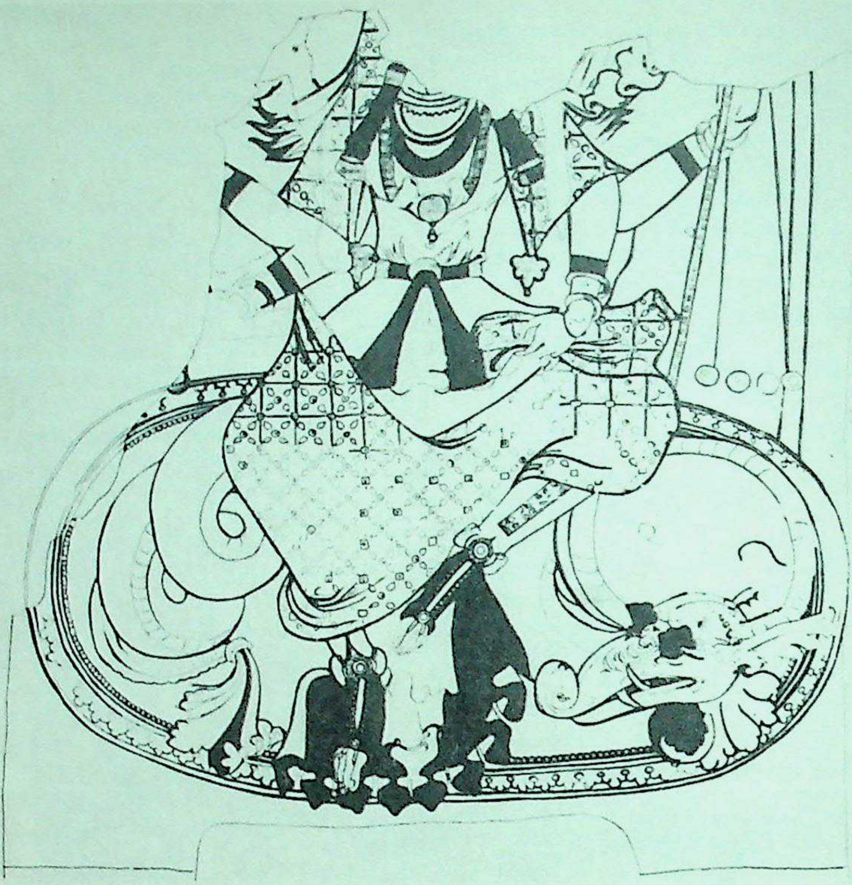
The Penjikent scene, obviously, shows the ruler: tongues of flame rise above his head and there is a nimbus round it. His partner is also a person of importance: he too has a nimbus, his clothes are unusual. The pose of the seated player is quite unusual: his legs are stretched out. Professor Belenitsky is inclined to compare this scene with one of the Buddhist *Jataka* stories which tells of the ruler playing dice with his chief minister. It is well known that in Buddhist iconography tongues of flame were often the attribute of a special status, including that of the ruler. The suggested interpretation is not final as yet, but it accords well with the general direction of Central Asian-Indian cultural relations. A painted composition was discovered in Penjikent with a "dark-blue dancer" draped in a tiger skin and a trident behind him. Professor Belenitsky rightly considers that this "dark-blue dancer" dates back to the iconography of Shiva who, as is well known, is represented with a dark-blue neck and always carries a trident. The legend of how Shiva came to have a dark-blue neck is popular in India. Of course, the "dark-blue man" does not transmit the canonical image of Shiva to full extent, and his representation scarcely provides evidence of the spread of followers of Shaivism in Penjikent. The "dark-blue dancer" is a clear example of the creative reworking by local masters of an image borrowed from neighbouring India.

Penjikent may truly be named an ocean of Sogdian painting. Paintings have been found in the most varied buildings: in a palace, a temple and in the homes of rich townsmen. Among the specimens of Penjikent painting special attention should be paid to the "scene of mourning", one of the masterpieces of Sogdian and, perhaps, of Oriental painting of the early Middle Ages in general. In the centre of the composition is a dead youth, lying under a special funeral structure, possibly under a special marquee. Behind the deceased are women mourners, striking themselves on the head. Below, by the base of the funeral structure, are three figures dressed in white. Two of them are holding some kind of objects with thick handles, perhaps torches, and a handleless vessel. Still lower are four men and a woman, and in front of them two more figures. The artist presents a very fine reflection of the grief of the people. Sorrowful faces, eyes filled with grief, loose-flowing hair, many have scratches and cuts on the face and body. Two of the men are depicted at the very moment when they are making incisions in the lobes of their ears with knives. One man seems to be piercing his nose as a sign of great grief and devotion to the memory of the deceased. To the left of this fragment there has been preserved, although in a worse state, the figures of three female deities (one has many arms). They are



**Shiva dancing. Penjikent (Tracing)**

also mourning the deceased. Their hands are raised to their heads, apparently to reiterate the gestures of the women mourners. Some researchers think that the people depicted in white clothing are Sogdians, while those in red and yellow-brown, with high cheek-bones and slanting eyes, are Turks. If this is so, then participants in the funeral procession are both native inhabitants and strangers, who have adopted local traditions and faiths. Whom are the Sogdians and Turks, people and gods, mourning? The opinions of some researchers is that this scene reflects the views of the Manichaeans on life beyond the grave, others find direct analogies with the epic tale of the death of Siyavush, a popular character in Central Asian literature and art. The legend of Siyavush and his death has been preserved in the *Shah-Nama* and in the works of the 10th-century historian of Bukhara—Nershahi. We know of the spread of the



**Four-armed deity. Penjikent (Tracing)**

Siyavush cult in Sogdiana from written sources, but it is at the moment difficult to say if the mourning scene from Penjikent is connected with the subject of Siyavush's death or not.

As a possible parallel we may refer to the description of the Buddha's *nirvana*, known to us from Buddhist works, first and foremost from the *Mahayana sutras*. Both humans and gods take part in the mourning scene, in which the mourners torture themselves until blood flows onto the ground forming a river. Of course, there are no direct Buddhist attributes in the Penjikent scene, but the similarity in the description is indubitable and therefore deserves attention, especially if one takes into account the presence of other direct analogies between Indian and Sogdian art represented in Penjikent.

The murals in the palace at Varakhsha, where Professor V. Shishkin carried on excavations for many years, are of great interest. In the Red Hall of the palace the murals are connected by a single motif. They show the struggle of people mounted on elephants against fantastic wild animals. The composition is divided into separate scenes: on each wall people are depicted on back an elephant trying to overcome the gigantic wild beasts—tigers, griffins, leopards and lions. The red background of the hall unites all the scenes. Seated on an elephant is the ruler or a young warrior and a servant-driver. Wild animals are attacking them from both sides but the warriors are boldly beating off the attacks. In scientific literature it has already been noted that the idea of hunting when mounted on elephants was obviously borrowed from India, as this mode of hunting was unknown in Central Asia.

An interesting thing is that the elephants are depicted rather unusually, or, to be more accurate, misshapenly: the body is too drawn-out and the legs are short. The tusks also are wrongly drawn, being depicted as issuing from the lower jaw instead of the upper. The artist had probably never been in India, nor seen elephants and therefore borrowed their image from various descriptions. Nor did he depict the harness of the elephant or the seat of the driver correctly: a horse's bridle is shown on the elephant's head and the driver is seated on its head and not on its neck. In several other scenes the elephants are drawn even with stirrups for the rider.

This scene has a definite resemblance to Ajanta painting—dress, ornamentation, etc., are similar. As compared with the Red Hall, where the general composition is divided into separate scenes, in the Eastern Hall, or as it is called, the Hall of the Yellow Griffin, each wall carries a complete composition. The mural on the southern wall is of special interest. It depicts the ruler seated on a throne decorated with yellow griffins that have camel heads. To the left of the throne there is a group of people holding chalices, to the right are people in front of the sacrificial alter bowl in which a fire is blazing. This is a scene from court life in ancient Varakhsha. In this instance the ruler is both representative of authority and high priest. A silver vessel bearing the representation of a winged camel was found in Central Asia and is now in the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. One can speak of the Central Asian basis of the given motif. All the murals in Varakhsha, as in other similar monuments in Central Asia, are done on clay stucco with colour-wash. This method of painting on dry stucco is widespread in India (Ajanta) and Afghanistan (Bamian). However, on the whole, Varakhsha painting presents Central Asian art with roots in local artistic tradition, and has parallels in other Central Asian schools, such as Penjikent and Balalyk-tepe. These traditions probably go back to the Kushana period, to the more ancient Bactrian-Tokharistan school of art.

Central Asian sculpture deserves special attention insofar as in several of its specimens the influence of Indian culture and schools of sculpture can be clearly observed.

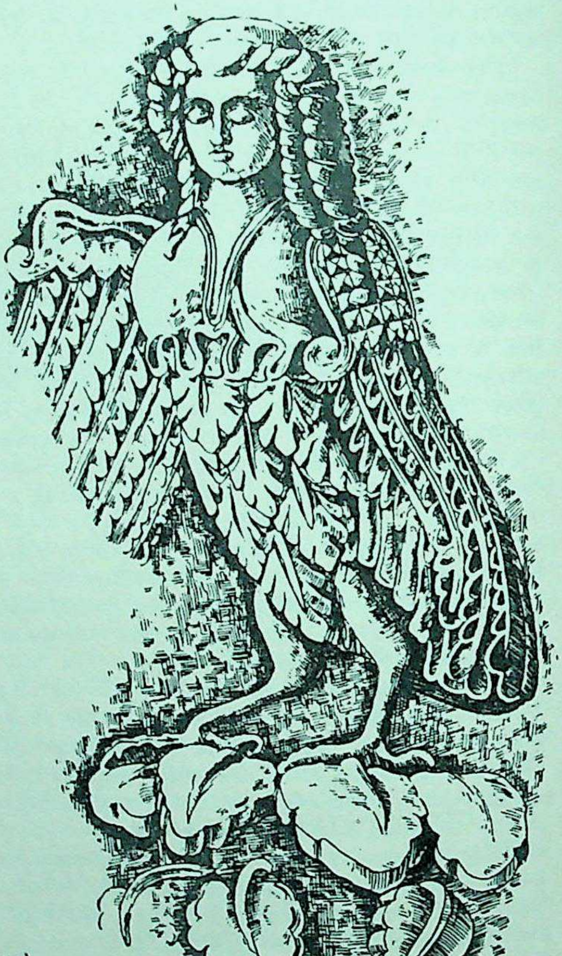
The sculpture of a woman-bird (*Kinnari*) was discovered in Varakhsha. Two similar clay sculptures were found in Penjikent where, judging from excavations, they formed part of the decoration of the arch of the building. The image of a woman-bird was also popular in Indian art of earlier times.

Important finds were recently made during excavations at Kaushambi (near Allahabad). In the Saka-Kushana stratum sculptures of winged figures, including sirens, were discovered. It is interesting that in Penjikent one comes across the twin representation of sirens, which is also typical of Indian art. Such representations are to be met in the reliefs of the famous Sanchi *stupa* and at Bharhut (1st century B.C.). The images of *Kinnara* and *Kinnari* are well known in Indian literature.

There exists, on the one hand, the supposition that the image of the siren reached Central Asia from India in the first centuries A.D., but, on the other hand, it is quite likely that this image, known in Iran and Afghanistan at a much earlier period, came to Central Asia from there.

Wooden sculpture, which, as is known, was widespread in India, was found in Penjikent. Thus, the figure of the dancing girl has many features of Indian art. The climate destroyed wood and therefore very little wooden sculpture has survived. Charred specimens were found in Penjikent—miraculously saved from fire, they were thus saved from the destructive influence of the climate.

The carving on wood is worth mentioning—a procession of winged lions and a figure seated on a throne in the form of two animals with spines grown together. The image of a winged lion occurs quite often in Indian art; winged lions supporting a throne were discovered during excavations of the palace in the ancient Indian capital Pataliputra (now Patna). The image of the winged



**Bird-woman. Stucco.**
**Varakhsha (Reconstruction)**

lion was obviously borrowed by Indian culture from Achaemenid Iran. Possibly the scene of the procession of lions from Penjikent is not directly connected with India, but reflects the close contacts between Central Asia and Iran in the previous period.

During the excavation of one of the *aivans* (covered gallery) leading to the temple complex in Penjikent, archaeologists discovered clay reliefs, stretching along all the walls of the walk. The reliefs depict the water element with warriors and various creatures swimming in it.

Together with human figures we see dolphins, monsters with gaping jaws and a triton standing nearby. The representation of the triton, taken separately, leads us into the world of Graeco-Roman art, but if we place it by the side of its neighbour, it acquires a different content, transferring us to the culture of India and Afghanistan.

The monster with gaping jaws is none other than the *makara*, one of the most widespread mythical images in Indian art. A creature reminiscent of the triton is often depicted by its side. The representation of the *makara* with the triton became widespread in Buddhist art. The *makara* is usually interpreted as the embodiment of the water element which ties in excellently with the general idea of the Penjikent reliefs. This, in turn, allows us to speak of the reverence for the water element in Penjikent. Possibly the sculptor had in mind reverence for the river Zeravshan, which provided the land of the Sogdians with water. As a parallel we may point to the relief sculptures from India, in which the Ganges and the Jumna are represented. Human figures represent the deities of these rivers and are depicted standing on water creatures, including the *makara*.

The Indian influence on Sogdian painting and sculpture is explained both by common artistic traditions and direct links. Some years ago a small Sanskrit inscription on a fragment of a vessel was found in Penjikent. The inscription is in the *Brahmi* script, a fact which clearly witnesses to the arrival of an Indian in the city.

One of the most outstanding examples of early medieval painting in Central Asia, and, possibly, the whole East, is the painting of ancient Samarkand, discovered in the last years by Soviet scholars in Afrasiab—the site of ancient Samarkand. The history of Samarkand, which has already celebrated its 2500th anniversary, contains many glorious pages. It is one of the most ancient cities in the world, and has survived to our day as a major urban centre.

Until recently Samarkand impressed one with its famous monuments of 14th-17th century architecture, nowadays one is able to appreciate at its true worth the remarkable skill of the 6th-7th century Sogdian artists. Samarkand was contemporary with ancient Rome; on the Afrasiab site archaeologists uncovered cultural strata dating to the middle of the lst century B. C. In the 4th century B. C. Marakanda (Samarkand) withstood the attacks of Alexander the Great's army and became one of the centres of the struggle of the Sogdians, commanded by Spitamen, against the Graeco-Macedonians. The 6th and 7th centuries A.D. were a period of a new upswing for Samarkand, of growth in trade and external relations. During excavation of Afrasiab archaeologists have discovered the remains of an architectural complex of that period, which was evidently the palace of the ruler of Samarkand. Massive clay walls (3 to 3.5 m high) have been preserved. Mural painting was found in a hall measuring 11×11 m. A large painted scene was exposed on the southern wall—a rich caravan moving towards a pavilion where a group of people stand, obviously to meet the travellers. The cavalcade is headed by an elephant with a palanquin, of which only fragments have been preserved. It is a white elephant in a richly decorated cloth with a bell on its neck. One may suppose that there was an aristocratic lady in the palanquin, possibly a princess, with a maidservant depicted beside her. Three horses, bearing ladies of the court, follow behind the elephant. One of the figures is quite well preserved and we can make out the lady's attire. She is wearing a short red dress, yellow baggy trousers and black bootees, a scarf is thrown over her shoulder and there are bracelets on her wrists. There is a short inscription in Sogdian on the arm of one of the ladies which reads: "In attendance on the princess". Two men on camels follow behind the court ladies. One of them is quite young, white-faced, with a thin moustache and a short black beard, the other is a dark-complexioned elder with a grey beard. The high office of these personages is indicated by the fact that each carries a mace (or staff of office). They are well armed, a sword and short dagger hanging from their belts. There are rich gifts—a herd of horses (their legs have been preserved in the upper part of the painting) and white birds. Evidently, the birds had some special significance since they occupy one of the central places in the composition. The birds are escorted by two armed men who have the lower part of their faces covered in a white band. Alongside the birds there is the enormous figure of a rider on a yellow horse, which has, unfortunately, been badly preserved. The upper part of the representation has been completely lost as it was higher than the surviving part of the wall. But even the surviving part of the figure enables one to visualise its height (bearing in mind that the wall survived only up to a height of 2 metres, the figure of the rider on the horse must have been not less than 4 metres in height, which shows how majestic was the hall of the palace). The horseman, evidently, occupied a special place in the procession, and the whole scene depicted a marriage procession. The princess on the elephant was apparently intended for the ruler of ancient Samarkand or one of his sons.

On the western wall are shown men in long robes, richly decorated with intricate patterns. Birds with pearl necklaces in their beaks, and fantastic animals—a winged dog, winged lions in groups—are depicted. Long swords and daggers hang from the men's gold belts. Their faces vary: dark-skinned and white, young and old. Several men are carrying in their hands something resembling a necklace or a piece of patterned fabric. On the skirt of the white robes of one of the figures there is an inscription in Sogdian telling of the embassy of the Chatagian ruler to the ruler of Samarkand (Chatagian was a small domain in the Surkhan Darya valley). Judging from the inscription, the ruler's chief secretary arrived in Samarkand as ambassador. Ambassadors had come not only from nearby Chatagian but from distant countries too. On the hand of one of the figures there is an inscription in Sogdian "Tibet". If one compares the murals on the southern and western walls, then the supposition that the Sogdian artists had depicted an important event in the life of the ruler of Samarkand—his wedding or that of one of his heirs—is confirmed. Ambassadors came to it bearing gifts.

Afrasiab painting is a brilliant example of Sogdian art, and opens a new page in the history of the ancient culture of Central Asia and the whole East.

The discovery of Sogdian inscriptions is of enormous interest since very few written Sogdian relics have survived to our day. Thanks to these inscriptions written evidence has been obtained of ancient Sogdiana's ties with India, and even with Tibet. The figures of the elephant and the white birds were most likely made under Indian influence. It is well known that in ancient India white swans were considered to be an attribute of the goddess Sarasvati.

Scholars studying Central Asia and the Far East still have to examine thoroughly the subject of cultural contacts between Central Asia and Tibet in the 6th-7th centuries A.D., evidence of which is provided by the Sogdian inscriptions from the palace of Afrasiab.

Professor L. Albaum, analysing the Afrasiab murals in his book *Afrasiab Paintings* (Tashkent, 1975), came to the conclusion that some fragments of the mural paintings represent Indians and a scene from Indian life. The women are in saris, although their iconography is Central Asian, the riders are shown on elephants, which, incidentally, are represented more realistically than in Varakhsha—evidently the artist was acquainted with these strange animals. Pink and blue lotus flowers are also depicted, and L. Albaum suggests that this is a scene of the journey of the Indian embassy to Samarkand. The embassy is shown during the crossing when it is being attacked by wild animals. Similar motifs as that of the encounter of the elephant riders with the wild animals are also found in Varakhsha painting—it is very popular in ancient Indian art.

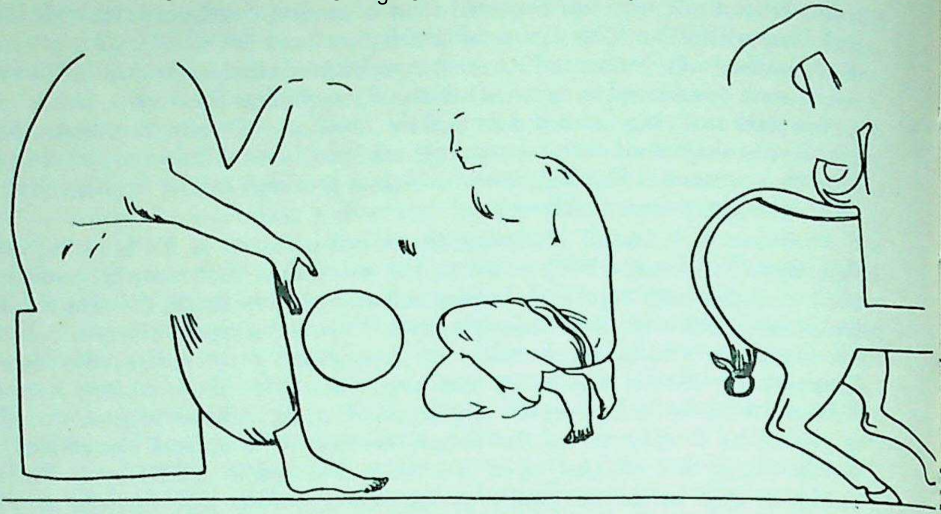
On the whole, in Afrasiab painting artistic traditions of various countries merged, but dominant in this synthesis were local Central Asian features dating to the Kushana period.

Recent research by Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia sheds new light on the directions and scale of international relations of Central Asia in ancient times and the early Middle Ages. Archaeology supplemented written evidence of the close links of Central Asia with India, the Far and Middle East, Iran, and later on, with Byzantium too.

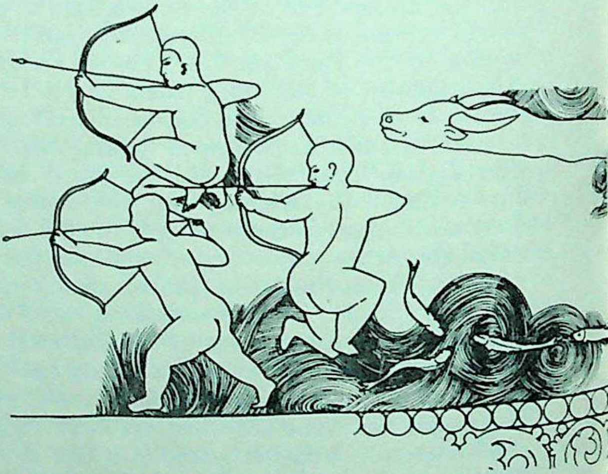
We have already mentioned the great part played by Central Asia in acquainting China with Buddhism; it was precisely through Buddhism that Indian and Central Asian culture penetrated to the Far East. The peoples of what is now Soviet Central Asia acquainted the rest of Central Asia and China with the attainments of the Graeco-Roman world, and themselves assimilated and carried to the Mediterranean countries the cultural traditions of the peoples of the Far East. The Chinese, for example, borrowed from Central Asia a number of cultivated plants such as lucerne, grape vines and, possibly, cotton. It is known from Chinese sources that at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. the inhabitants of Central Asia taught the Chinese how to make stained glass. The "Great Wall of China" could not prevent the peoples of the Far East from enriching their own culture with the attainments of Central Asian civilisation, or the peoples of Central Asia from learning about the many remarkable achievements of the peoples of China.

Central Asian relations expanded greatly in the Kushana period. Archaeologists have found coins of the Kushana rulers near Kiev, in Ethiopia and Scandinavia, and in ancient cities of the Roman Empire, while coins of the Roman emperors Augustus, Tiberius and others have been found in cities of Western and Southern India. Finds of Kushana coins in the Kama region and silver from Khorezm in the Trans-Urals territory mark the area of northern ties.

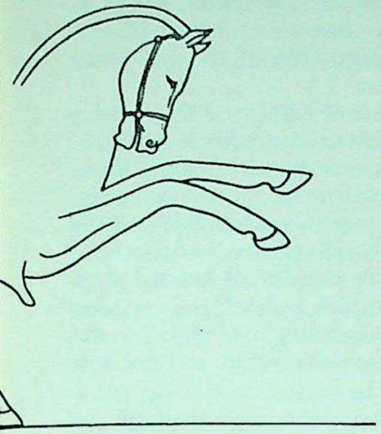
The Great Silk Route passed into Roman Syria through the Central Asian domains of the Kushana kings. And it is from here, evidently, from Khorezm, that routes went to the ancient cities of the northern Black Sea coast. It is



typical that during the Kushana period clay imitations of Roman vessels were made in Central Asia (such imitations are also found in Bactria, at Kara-tepe, in Khorezm and Sogdiana). Central Asian links with the Mediterranean date back to a much earlier period than the Kushana era. One may recall the interesting evidence from the archives of the island of Elephantine that at the end of the 5th century B.C. a native of Khorezm, Dargaman by name, was serving as a soldier there. Judging from written sources and archaeological material (primarily "old-time" Sogdian letters from Eastern Turkestan), the

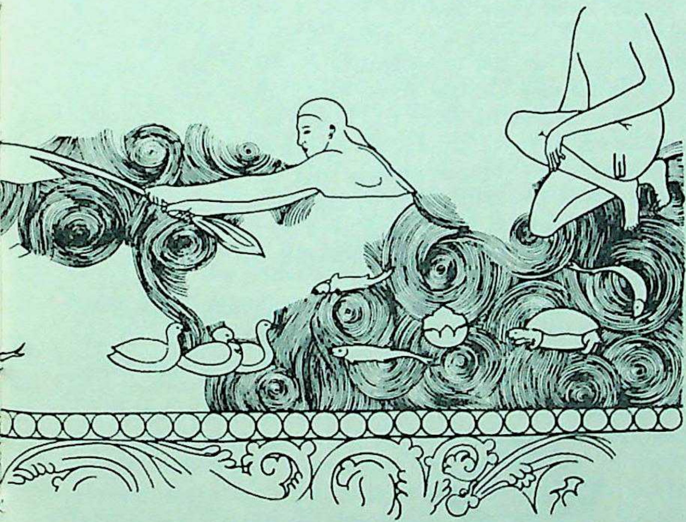


Scene from Indian mythology. Afrasiab



Scene from Indian mythology. Afrasiab

whole eastern section of the Great Silk Route was in the hands of the Sogdians by the 4th century A.D. They set up their own colonies and settlements in the interior of Asia, established trade and cultural relations with many peoples. Sogdian silks later on penetrated into Byzantium and Western Europe as is witnessed by finds of silks with Sogdian characters in church repositories in Europe. The Sogdian language became the language of international relations over vast areas. The Uighur alphabet, which is the base of the Mongol and Manchurian alphabets, is derived from the Sogdian writing.



Sogdian links with Byzantium became close in the 5th-8th centuries, and Byzantine coins began to appear in Central Asia. A Byzantine dish of the 6th century, with a representation of Venus and a Sogdian inscription, found in Central Asia, is particularly interesting. There was also an exchange of embassies between Central Asian states and Byzantium. One of the embassies that came to Constantinople was headed by Sogdians.

Every year brings more and more data on the original culture of the peoples of Central Asia. Numerous archaeological expeditions continue their research. There is no doubt that the as yet unread pages in the history of Central Asian civilisations will be read and we shall come closer to divining the secrets of the ancient cultures of the peoples of the East. These researches will also help to clear up many problems in the history and culture of ancient India, whose peoples were from time immemorial related to the peoples of Central Asia by close ties. The thousands-year history of the historical and cultural contacts between these two great civilisations of antiquity is clear evidence of the ancient bonds of friendship between the two countries—the USSR and India, a friendship which grows stronger from year to year.

The discoveries by Soviet scholars in Central Asia have won the high appraisal from Indian scholars who constantly refer to the publications of Soviet archaeologists. Seminars of Soviet and Indian scholars are organised more and more often. Special mention should be made of the fruitful international conferences and symposia which have been held in Soviet Central Asia and India, at which specialists from both countries were able to hold joint discussions on cardinal problems and the prospects for future research. In Dushanbe, in October 1977, there was an international symposium on ethnic problems in the history of Central Asia in the 2nd millennium B.C., in which outstanding Indian scholars such as B. B. Lal, B. K. Thapar, Lallanji Gopal and others took part. Attention was focussed on the Aryan problem, the solution of which demands that, first and foremost, material from Central Asia and India be taken into account.

Owing to the importance of Central Asian material for research into the history of the ancient Indian civilisation and the joint work by Soviet and Indian scholars, in 1980 Indian historians and archaeologists put forward a plan for the Soviet-Indian project on the comparative study of archaeology and the ancient history of India and Central Asia. The Indian side was led by Professor G. R. Sharma. The co-director from the Indian side now is Professor G. C. Pande. A programme has been outlined for research over the next two decades, which includes provision for joint symposia and the publication of joint works. The first step towards the fulfillment of this programme was the Indo-Soviet joint symposium in February 1982, organised by the University of Allahabad, in which Soviet scholars under the leadership of Academician B. Piotrovsky (Director, State Hermitage) participated.

Joint works by Soviet and Indian scholars will, undoubtedly, promote the solution of many important problems in the history and culture of Indian and Central Asian peoples, and will be fresh confirmation of the traditional friendship between India and the Soviet Union.

# Indian Manuscripts in Soviet Collections

Rich collections of Indian manuscripts dealing with the most diverse aspects of ancient Indian culture are preserved in the Soviet Union. They began to be collected as early as the 18th century, but the basic stocks were put together in the 19th century, owing to the efforts of travellers and Russian Indologists who visited the countries of the East. The richest collection is connected with the name of I. Minayev, who brought from India, Nepal and Burma many valuable manuscripts, primarily Buddhist and Jaina manuscripts. In his will Minayev left his collection to the Leningrad Public Library, where these valuable written cultural relics are still preserved. Another major manuscript centre is the Leningrad Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies. This collection is based on the stocks of the Asiatic Museum, founded in 1818. The Central Asian stock, which the Russian consul in Kashgar N. Petrovsky and Academician S. Oldenburg did a great deal to enlarge, is also preserved here.

A description of the Indian manuscripts is given in the works of B. Dorn, O. Bötlingk, N. Mironov, S. Oldenburg and V. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky and the manuscripts have been catalogued. Two catalogues prepared by N. Mironov (of Indian manuscripts in the Asiatic Museum and the Public Library) are particularly important, as also is a survey by V. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky of the collection of Indian manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies, where more than 600 specimens of Indian manuscripts or their fragments are preserved. These do not include the Central Asian stock.

The stock of Indian manuscripts in the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies includes the most varied works. There are both Vedic texts and *Puranas*, epics and *kavyas*, scientific essays and philosophical *darshanas*, Jaina and Buddhist texts, etc. Most of the manuscripts are in Sanskrit, but there is also a considerable number in Pali. The most interesting are listed below. Among the Vedic works there is one manuscript of the *Taittiriya Samhita*, three of the *Vajasaneya Samhita*, two manuscripts of Sayana's commentary to the *Aitareyaranyaka* and the *Brihadaranyaka*, manuscripts of various *Upanishads*, beginning with the early ones (for example, *Chandogya Upanishad*) and ending with Shankara's works *(Aptavajrasuci-upaniṣhad).* From epic works there are manuscripts of the *Mahabharata* (including two of the *Gita*) and the *Ramayana*. The *Puranic* tradition is particularly rich, there being 80 manuscripts of separate parts of the *Purana* collections (from *Garuda Purana*, *Padma Purana*. *Brihaddharma Purana*, and others). There are several manuscripts of collections composed of texts of various *Puranas*, under the title of *Ekadashamahatmya*.

Manuscripts of Tantric literature form a special category (32 MSS.), including a manual on the cult of the goddess Kali, and incantations in honour of Durga, instructions on ritual in the worship of Vishnu, a short treatise on Tantric formulae and their representation (the *Tantracakrasangraha* with a table), the famous *Tantrasara* by Krishnananda Vagisha, a eulogy of Ganesha

(100 names of God, beginning with "g"), tables for divination, etc.

Among the manuscripts of Sanskrit fiction in poetry or poetic prose (*kavya*) of particular interest are the manuscript of the *Brihatkathamanjari*, two manuscripts of the *Raghuvamsha*, and an incomplete manuscript of Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava*, the manuscript of *Subodhi*—Bharatasena's commentary on the first two sections of this poem, parts of the *Hitopadesha* and the *Shukasaptati*, three manuscripts of Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, a part of Bhartrihari's *Vairagyashataka*, Vararuci's collections of verse (*Nitisara* and *Nitiratna*). The unique manuscript of the Sanskrit anthology *Subhashitarnava* (containing over a thousand verses; judging by the text the author was a Jain) is of great scientific importance. Twenty manuscripts in the collection relate to ancient Indian drama. Particular mention should be made of Gopinatha's *Kautukasarvasva*, a satire on sinful rulers (Prakrit verses translated into Sanskrit and written in the margins). Mammata's treatise *Kavyaprakasha* on the history of poetry (two MSS.) attracts attention. There are also 40 manuscripts dedicated to works of grammar and commentaries to them. The collection also includes three manuscripts of Sharvavarman's famous Sanskrit grammar *Katantra* with Durgasimha's commentaries, manuscripts of treatises on various questions of Sanskrit grammar (works by Jayarama, Ratnapani and Bharatasena). The *Upasargavritti*, a treatise on verbal prefixes, is in its way an appendix to the *Dritabodha*. Very valuable are manuscripts of Amarasimha's dictionary *Amarakosha*, and several manuscripts of the *Mahavyutpatti*, an important Buddhist terminological text published by I. Minayev and republished by N. Mironov in Volume XIII of the "Bibliotheca Buddhica".

Fifty of the manuscripts in the collection relate to various philosophical texts, of both orthodox trends and Buddhism. Among them are Patanjali's *Yogasutra*, Shankara's *Yogataravali* (a treatise on *Rajayoga*), a number of works on logic, among them the unique manuscript of Kamalashila's *Bhavanakrama*, the complete text of the *Brahma Sutras*, an extract from the *Bhamati*—Vacaspati Mishra's commentary to Shankara's *Sharirakabhashya*, numerous manuscripts of other works by Shankara (for example, the *Atmabodha*), and the famous Vedantic essay *Ashtavakragita*.

Mention should be made of the two manuscripts of Shatananda's treatise on astronomy *Bhasvati* (11th century), the manuscript of the medical treatise *Galagandamala* (on tumours of the throat glands), and also of numerous manuscripts of various works on astrology and calendars (some of them, judging by notes in the margins, belonged to G. Lebedev). The Sanskrit treatise on agriculture *Krishipaddhati* (the authorship is ascribed to Parashara, a mythical sage) is of considerable interest to historians.

There is also a manuscript of the Jaina poem in verse *Citrasenapadmavaticarita* (author Nayavijaya), which is a Jaina version of the famous story of the beautiful Padmavati (the manuscript contains 536 verses). Among the Buddhist works are manuscripts in Sanskrit and Pali containing the canons with Sinhalese commentaries, and likewise separate works such as the *Milindapanha*, the *Lalitavistara*, and the *Saddharma Pundarika* (in the *Landa* script). Pali texts are also represented by a part of the *Samantapasadika* (Buddhaghosha's commentary to the *Vinaya* in the Cambodian script), the *Kathavatthu Atthakatha* and the *Bhikkhupatimokha* (in the Sinhalese script).

The manuscript stock in the State Public Library in Leningrad is, as already mentioned, another major collection. Mironov's catalogue lists 304 manuscripts, but this is merely a part of the stock of Indian manuscripts, as only the first part of the catalogue was published. Unfortunately, the second part, which included Pali and North Buddhist works, was not published. Nevertheless, the list of manuscripts that Mironov did publish provides an idea of the character of the whole collection and its enormous value. Mironov described more than 130 Brahmanical texts. Various forms of Sanskrit literature on various aspects of philosophy, religion, science, on the theory of poetics, grammatical treatises, etc., are also represented.

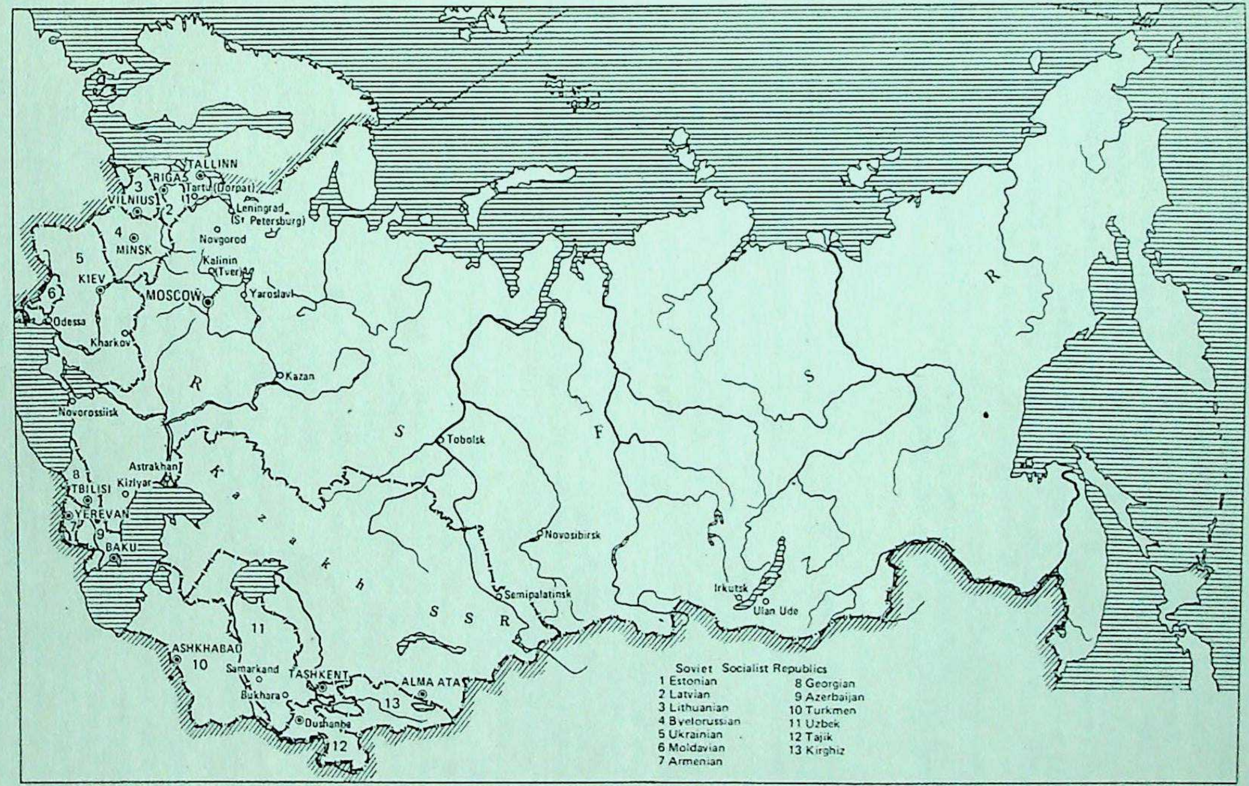
Of the epic works mention should be made of the manuscript of the *Ramayana* (the beginning of the poem), and two manuscripts of the *Gita*, one of them illustrated (a gift from the Sanskrit scholar Kossovich). There are also many extracts from the *Puranas*, and among the religious texts the most interesting are the collections in honour of the goddess Kali, and the *Jnanarnava* on worship of Durga. Tantric texts are there in large numbers, including the *Uddharakosha*, a work attributed to Dakshinamurti; from the *kavya* most important are manuscripts of parts of the *Gitagovinda* and Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava*. The *Vetalapancavimshatika*, a collection of tales edited by Kshemendra (a prose version of excerpts from Gunadhya's *Brihatkatha*, which has not come down to us), is of great interest. From works on poetics one should note the manuscript of Keshava Mishra's *Alankarashekhara*, a manual on poetics, which is a commentary on Suddhodana's *Alankara Sutra*; from the grammatical works—the Nepalese manuscript of Canda's *Prakritalakshana*, the well-known Prakrit grammar. Philosophical *Darshanas* are represented by manuscripts of works on *Yoga* (for example, the *Gorakshakayogashastra*, the *Hathayogapradipika*, etc.), on the *Mimamsa* school (Appayaladikshita's *Nakshatravadavali*; the manuscript contains 15 of the 27 chapters), on the *Vedanta* (Padmapada's *Pancapadika*—a commentary on Shankara's *Sharirakabhashya*, Ramanuja's commentary on the *Brahma Sutras*—the *Ramanuja-shribhashya*, Madhva's commentary on the *Brahma Sutras*, etc.). There are also many manuscripts on astrology, for example, the *Jatakashekhara* of Sahajapala, the *Jatakapaddhati*, the *Muhurtacintamani*, a manual on astrology—the *Sarasangraha*, and the *Samudrika*—a handbook for determining man's character and fate by various physical signs. There are more than 140 Jaina manuscripts, among them a series of very valuable works. Besides the manuscript of the *Acarangasutra*, two manuscripts of the *Kalpasutra* (one with a commentary on it—the *Kalpata*) and the manuscript of the *Sutrakritangasutra*, there are many commentaries on the *Sutras*—Shilanka's *Acaratika* (a commentary to the *Acarangasutra*), Lakshmivallabha's *Kalpadrumakalika* (a commentary to the *Kalpasutra*). Manuscripts of Haribhadra's work *Dashavaikalikabrihadvritti*, a manuscript of the collection of Sanskrit and Prakrit worship formulae of the Digambara sect—the *Samayika*, the manuscript of Hemacandra's famous *Parishishtaparvan*, the *Pravasanasaroddhara*—a famous Jaina collection of Prakrit *Gathas* (of the 1609, the manuscript contains 1606) are all of undoubted interest. Mention must also be made of the manuscripts of several other important Jaina texts: Shrivakoti's *Aradhana*, on the dogma of Jainism in the spirit of the Digambara sect, Sahajakushala's *Shritivicara*, a collection of dicia from the Jaina Canon with commentaries, Munisundara's *Traivaidyagoshthi*—instructions on conversing with educated Brahmans in order to convert them to Jainism, Ratnashekhara's *Acarapradipa*— a treatise on Jaina morals with tales of a fantastic nature, and Pujyapada's *Upasakacara*, a treatise on the duties of lay Jainas. Among the Jaina manuscripts is the well-known didactic work *Prashnottararatnamala* with commentaries by Devendra, which was popular both among the Digambaras and the Shvetambaras, the manuscript of Somasena's *Padmaramapurana*, a kind of Jaina *Ramayana*, two manuscripts of the *Samyaktvakaumudikatha*, a famous collection of tales of the Digambaras. In addition there is a manuscript of various Jaina instructions on *puja*, hymns in honour of future *Jinas*, hymns to Mahavira, etc.

The collection of Buddhist manuscripts also contains very important works: Aryashura's *Jatakamala*, Ashvaghosha's *Buddhacarita*, Candragomin's *Shishyalekha*, Shantadeva's Bodhicaryavatara, manuscipts of such famous Mahayana *Sutras* as the *Suvarnaprabhasa*, the *Aparimitayuhsutra* (in the form of conversations between the Buddha and the Manjushri), the *Mahayana* philosophical treatise by Ramapala–the *Sekanirdeshapanjsheka* and the manuscript of one of the *Avadanas*, the *Manicuda-avadana* (the legend of the former existence of the Buddha in the image of Manicuda, son of King Brahmadatta).

This is only a most general survey of Indian manuscripts preserved in the main manuscript collections of the USSR, but it shows what rich collections are available to Indologists, what opportunities they have for a deep study of ancient Indian culture.

The Central Asian stock, stored in the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, deserves special mention. The manuscripts preserved there are of great interest to Indologists, although they were discovered in Eastern Turkestan. The majority of ancient manuscripts have not survived in India because of the damp climate, and the study of Buddhism was carried on primarily on the basis of translations of Sanskrit originals into Tibetan and Chinese. During excavations in Central Asia ancient works of Sanskrit originals (in *Brahmi* and *Kharoshthi*) were found, which, according to palaeographic data belong to the 6th-8th centuries A.D. The importance of these Central Asian manuscripts for the study of Buddhism and the role of Indian culture in this region is enormous. The Central Asian stock began to be compiled in the 1880s and is now one of the richest collections in the world. A large number of manuscripts (mainly fragments) was sent by the Russian consul in Kashgar N. Petrovsky, one of the first to realise the exceptional importance of Eastern Turkestan for the discovering of ancient written source material of Indian culture. In 1892-1893 he sent more than 100 fragments of manuscripts on paper, birch-bark and vellum to St Petersburg to Academician Oldenburg who published several of them. Beginning with 1895, and thanks to expeditions of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia, numerous fragments of manuscripts began to arrive as gifts to the Asiatic Museum. A rich collection was gathered by a Russian expedition to Turfan, led by D. A. Klementz; later on an expedition led by M. M. Berezovsky, working in Turfan and Kucha, discovered a series of fragments, and finally, during two expeditions to Central Asia, Oldenburg also succeeded in acquiring more than 20 fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts in *Brahmi*.

Owing to the efforts of Russian scholars the Asiatic Museum came into possession of a most valuable collection of written sources of Buddhist culture. Over 700 fragments are at present preserved in Leningrad, but a considerable number has not yet been published, although Soviet scholars are working intensively on them. The identification of the fragments is most complicated.


TALLINN
RIGAS
Tartu (Dorpat)
VILNIUS
Leningrad
(St Petersburg)
Novgorod
MINSK
Kalinin
(Tver)
KIEV
MOSCOW
Yaroslavl
Odessa
Kharkov
Kazan
Novorossiisk
Astrakhan
Kizlyar
TBILISI
YEREVAN
BAKU
Tobolsk
Novosibirsk
Semipalatinsk
Irkutsk
Ulan Ude
ASHKHABAD
Samarkand
Bukhara
TASHKENT
Dushanbe
ALMA ATA
R S F S R
Kazakh SSR
R
1
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3
4
5
6
7
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9
10
11
12
13
Soviet Socialist Republics
1 Estonian
2 Latvian
3 Lithuanian
4 Byelorussian
5 Ukrainian
6 Moldavian
7 Armenian
8 Georgian
9 Azerbaijan
10 Turkmen
11 Uzbek
12 Tajik
13 Kirghiz

An outline map of the USSR

Many of the texts are also difficult from the palaeographic point of view, having been written in a Central Asian cursive variant of *Brahmi*.

V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky (1927-1956) rendered a great service in the compilation of the catalogue of the Central Asian collection. During his short life he published a number of unique texts, among them some new fragments of the *Kashyapaparivarta*, fragments of an ancient explanatory dictionary of Sanskrit, and syllabic tables of vertical and slanting *Brahmi*.

The stock also contains a large number of fragments of various manuscripts of the *Saddharmapundarika* (they have now been prepared for publication by M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya), a manuscript of the *Shardulakarnavadana*, many texts of *dharanis*, fragments of the Sanskrit *Vinaya*, *Prajnaparamita* texts, extracts from the *Mahayana Sutras* (fragments of the *Mahayana Mahaparinirvana Sutra*), etc.

Study of these texts has already enriched world Indology and will undoubtedly bring still more scholarly discoveries.

# CONCLUSION

An examination in the most general outlines of the history of the study of ancient Indian civilisation by the country's scholarship helps to reveal the basic specifics of the USSR school of Oriental studies as well as to appreciate, at its true value, its contribution to world Indology.

A deep respect for the peoples of India and their remarkable culture is characteristic of this school. Such an approach is connected with the traditional friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries, with contacts going back to the distant past.

Already in ancient Rus an image of India as a country of wisdom and wealth was formed, and Indian motifs became an integral part of the literature and folklore of Rus. Trade and cultural relations between Rus and India were strengthened over the course of centuries. More and more often Indians—bearers of the cultural traditions of their country, began to appear in Russia, while Russian travellers, beginning with the 15th century, visited India, becoming directly acquainted with her natural environment and population, way of life and languages, customs and religions. An interest in India and her great culture was aroused in many regions, now forming part of the USSR, in very early times—in Central Asia, the Caucasus, in Buryatia, etc. These traditions became an integral part of the common heritage of the cultural contacts of both countries and undoubtedly influenced the development of the scientific study of India in Russia and the creation of a school of Indology.

One can now see in broader relief the long path traversed by Soviet Indology. The first enthusiasts of Sanskrit studies appeared in Russia in the 19th century, and overcoming numerous difficulties, a scientific school was created. The circle of readers interested in India widened. Scholarly research became more extensive and systematic. Russian Oriental studies achieved considerable success in the study of ancient Indian civilisation, nevertheless research was still being carried out by only a small number of scholars, was insufficiently coordinated and, to a large extent, rather narrow.

A qualitatively new stage began after the Great October Socialist Revolution, when Indology was given a new impulse. Continuing the best traditions of the Russian Indological school, Soviet Indology began to develop on a basis that was new in principle.

Acquaintance with the history of the study of ancient Indian civilisation from times long past to the present shows that USSR Indology has both its own traditional scholarly trends and its own general principles of research.

In Russian scholarship special importance has long been attached to problems of India's relations with surrounding countries, the mutual influence of ancient Indian civilisation and other Central Asian civilisations. In Russian scholarship interest in the history of Central Asia and the neighbouring regions arose long ago, as far back as the 18th century. On the eve of the 20th century Russian scholars organised wide-ranging international study of the history, ethnography, linguistics and archaeology of Central Asia. Contemporary Soviet scholarship is successfully developing these traditions. In the archaeological study of Central Asia, for example, important successes were achieved only after the revolution. Scholarly organisations, which arose in the Soviet Central Asian republics after 1917, have made an essential contribution to the study of Central Asia. In pre-revolutionary scholarship the subject of India's relations with neighbouring regions was frequently reduced primarily to the study of the spread of Buddhism. At present there is the possibility of expanding this field considerably. Most valuable material on the spread of Buddhism has been brought to light, and Soviet scholars are successfully working on it.

Sanskrit studies in Russia have long been connected with Indo-European studies, and this trend is also widely represented in contemporary Soviet scholarship. The problem of the origins of the Aryans, just as was the case at the beginning of the 19th century, is linked with the ethnic history of the Slavs. However, the modern researcher can make use not only of the achievements of comparative-historical linguistics, but also of extensive archaeological material.

As early as last century Russian scholars were displaying a special interest in Indian epic and narrative literature (Buddhist *Jatakas*, "the tale within a tale", etc.). Researchers were faced with the problem of the oral, folklore origins and spread of separate works and whole genres of classical Indian literature. This interest is not accidental but is connected with the development in Russia of scientific folklore studies and comparative literary criticism. The USSR is one of the few countries which has had a long-standing rich tradition of oral folk literature. The views of literary historians and folklorists exerted great influence on Indologists, and Indological research in the given field aroused the most lively interest. A broad theoretical approach to the history of ancient Indian literature is characteristic of many works by Soviet Indologists.

Research in the field of Buddhism and Indian philosophy, carried on by Shcherbatskoy's school, was prolific owing to the tradition of Oriental studies and the unbiassed attitude towards the East that had developed in Russia. Soviet scholars are working successfully on problems of Buddhism and Indian philosophy.

Soviet scholarship is based on the Marxist theory of the historical process. As distinct from many conceptions which are widespread in the West, Soviet historiography regards ancient India not as an isolated and self-contained civilisation, but as an organic part of the history of the world. The development of ancient India, like that of other countries of antiquity, was determined by general historical laws.

It is worthy of note that only in post-revolutionary years did the scientific study of contemporary India and contemporary Indian culture begin. There arose the possibility of a complex study of India from ancient times to the present day. For a country like India this is particularly important, because, on the one hand, it is impossible to understand her present-day life without a knowledge of her ancient traditions, while on the other, India represents a unique opportunity to see "living ancient tradition", and often it is only in the light of the latest material that one is able to understand correctly the information from ancient texts.

Soviet historical scholarship attaches the greatest importance to the elucidation of social history, a question to which pre-revolutionary historiography practically paid no attention at all. Soviet Indologists have done a great amount of work in this direction, and it is particularly worthy of note that their conclusions are highly valued among Indian scholars.

The best representatives of national scholarship demonstrated a historical approach to Indian culture in their research work, considering each event in its development, in its relations with, and in the "context" of, other events. They underlined the importance of ancient Indian civilisation to the whole of mankind. At present its study is particularly topical. Interest in Indian culture is enormous in the Soviet Union. Over the last few years more translations from Sanskrit have been published than during many preceding decades. Indological publications are acquiring not only scholarly but also a general cultural significance.

The Soviet Union is a multinational country and Indology is developing not only in Moscow and Leningrad, but in a number of cities of the Soviet republics—in Tartu (Estonian SSR), Tbilisi (Georgian SSR), Tashkent (Uzbek SSR), Dushanbe (Tajik SSR), Ashkhabad (Turkmen SSR), and in Ulan Ude (Buryat ASSR) and others. National scholarship today is the scholarship of the peoples of the USSR. Soviet Indologists actively maintain international relations, and attach particular importance to contacts with India.

In general one may affirm that in recent years Soviet Indologists have achieved considerable success in the study of ancient Indian civilisation. Complex research, its wide range, the use of new methods of scientific study, objectivity in the setting out of material, are all characteristic features of Soviet Indology, which preserves and develops the best traditions of national scholarship. Studying India, Soviet scholars approach the peoples of this great country with great respect, and highly value their achievements in the fields of culture, science and the arts. In their own work, they see the fulfilment of the noble task of drawing closer together the peoples of the USSR and India, and strengthening the traditional friendship between the two countries.

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ВАН – Вестник Академии Наук СССР (Journal of the USSR Academy of Sciences)
ВДИ – Вестник Древней Истории (Journal of Ancient History)
ВЗ – Восточные Записки (Oriental Miscellany)
ВИ – Вопросы Истории (Journal of History)
ГАИМК – Государственная Академия Истории Материальной Культуры (State Academy of the History of Material Culture)
ЖМНП – Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения (Journal of the Ministry of Public Education)
ЗВОРАО – Записки Восточного Отделения Российского Археологического Общества (Proceedings of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society)
ЗКВ – Записки Коллегии Востоковедов при Азиатском музее АН СССР (Transactions of the Board of Orientalists of the Asiatic Museum of the USSR Academy of Sciences)
ИАН – Известия АН СССР (Proceedings of the USSR Academy of Sciences)
ИВЛ – Издательство Восточной Литературы (Oriental Literature Publishing House)
НАА – Народы Азии и Африки (Peoples of Asia and Africa)
ОИРВ – Очерки по Истории Русского Востоковедения (Essays in the History of Russian Oriental Studies)
ПВ – Проблемы Востоковедения (Problems of Oriental Studies)
РАИМК – Российская Академия Истории Материальной Культуры (Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture)
СА – Советская Археология (Soviet Archaeology)
СВ – Советское Востоковедение (Journal of Soviet Oriental Studies)
СНВ – Страны и Народы Востока (Countries and Peoples of the East)
СЭ – Советская Этнография (Soviet Ethnography)
УЗЛГУ – Ученые Записки ЛГУ (Proceedings of the Leningrad State University)
ЭВ – Эпиграфика Востока (Epigraphy of the East)
ABORI – Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BSOAS – Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
IHQ – Indian Historical Quarterly
IIJ – Indo-Iranian Journal
JBBRAS (NS) – Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)
JPTS – Journal of the Pali Text Society
JRAS – Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

## Chapter I

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## Chapter IV

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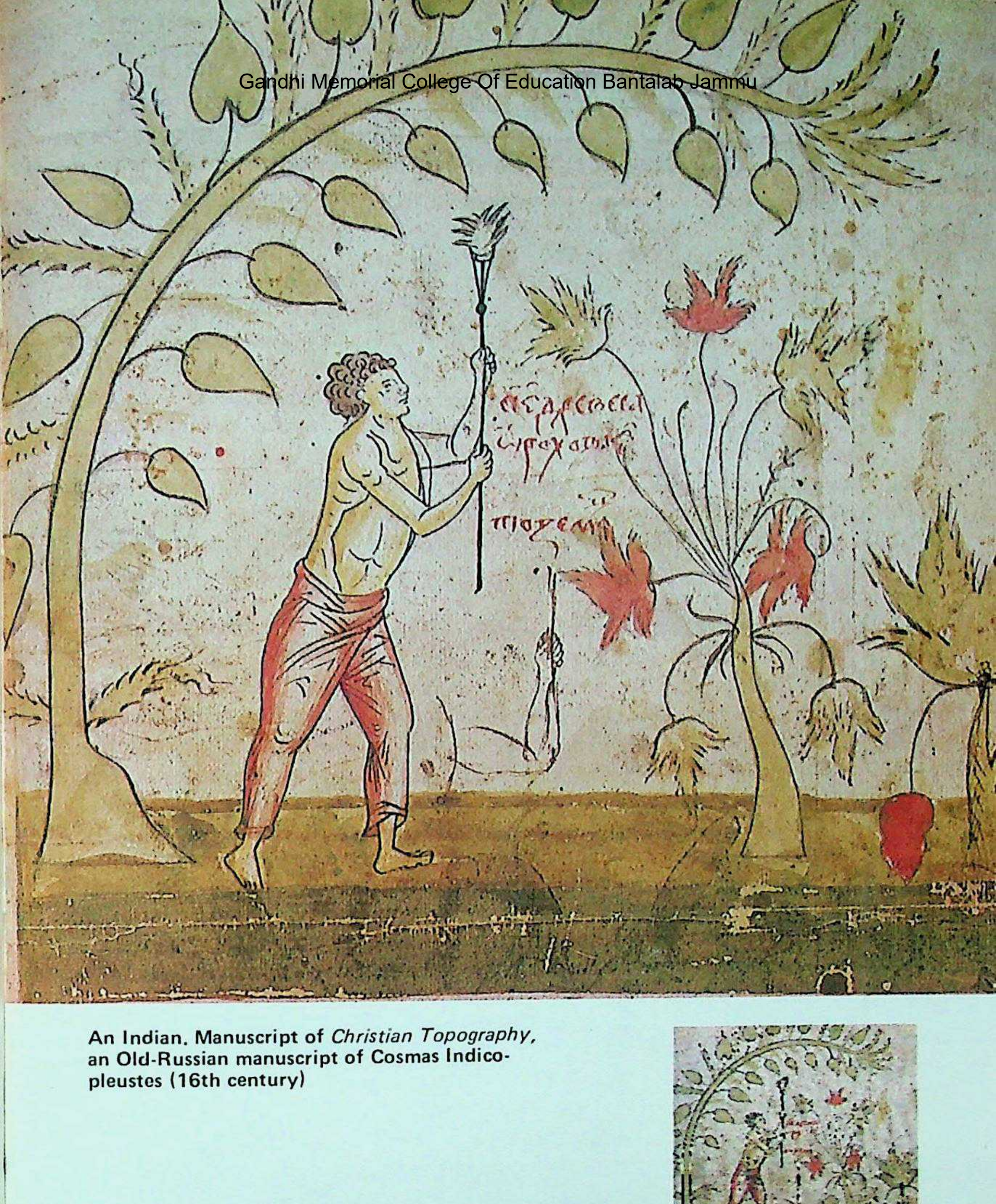
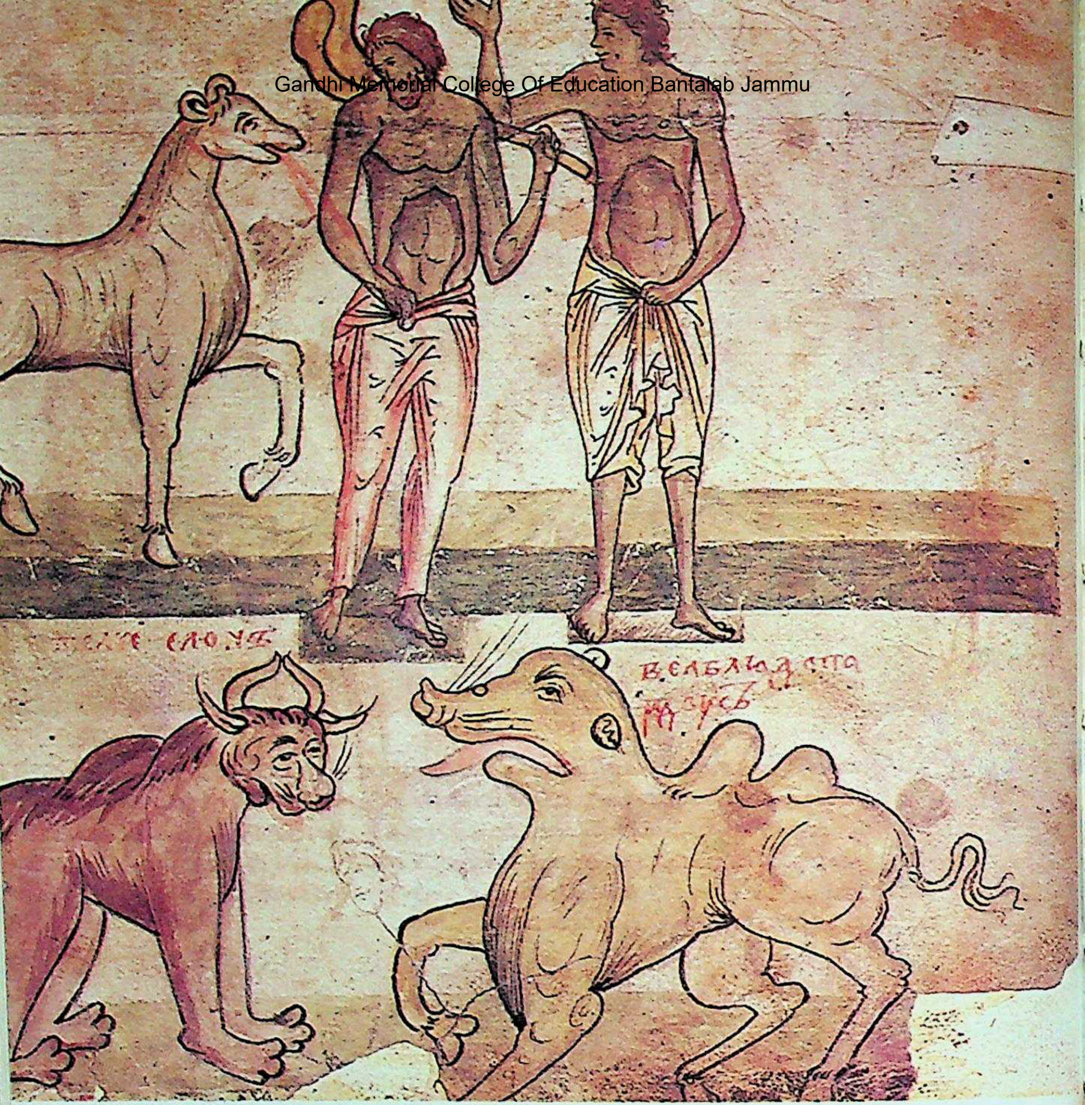


An Indian. Manuscript of *Christian Topography*, an Old-Russian manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes (16th century)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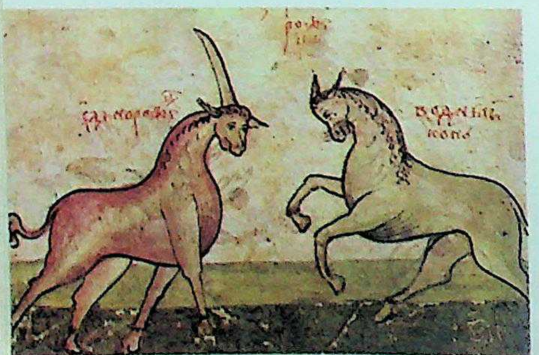
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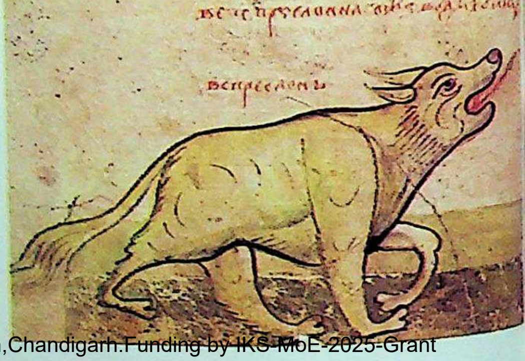
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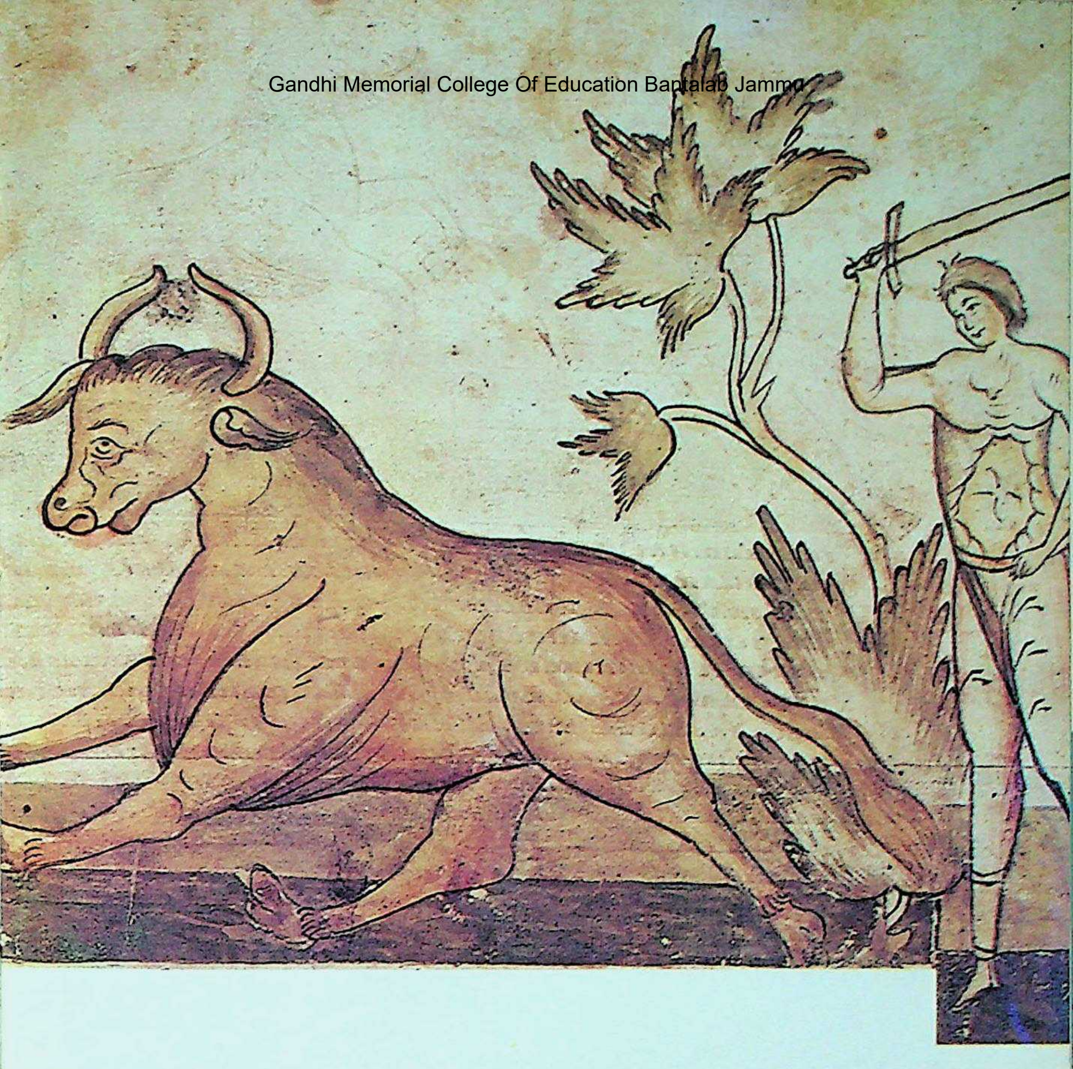
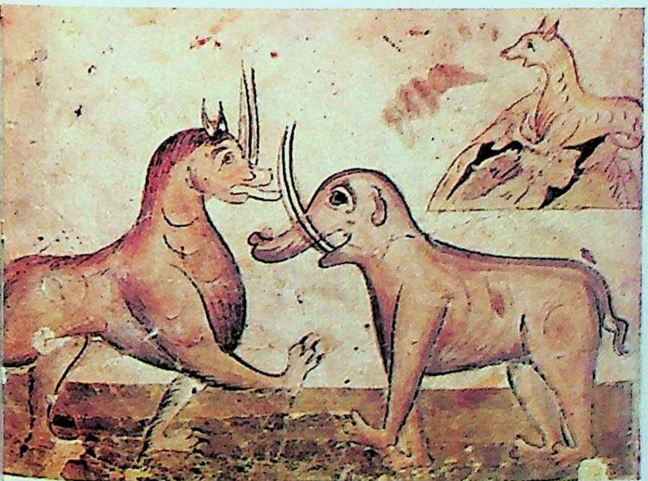
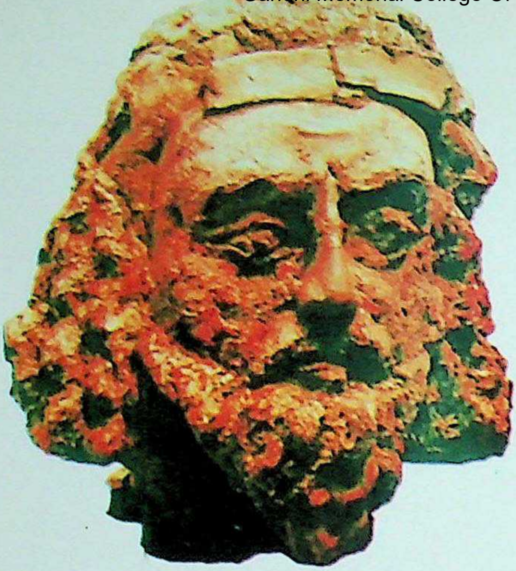
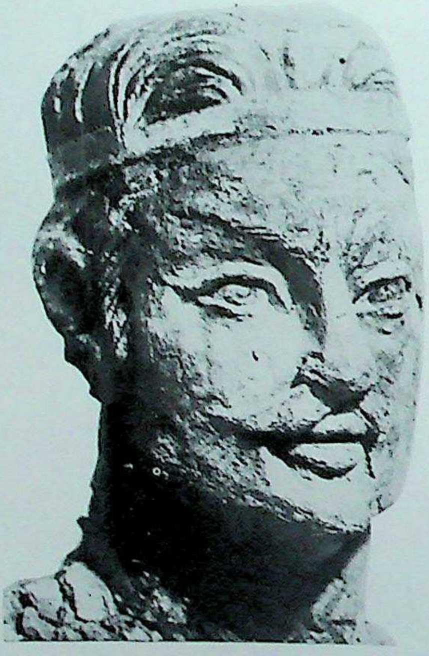




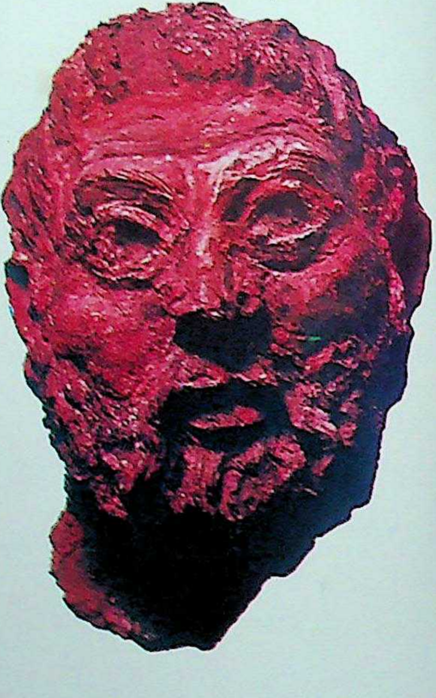
**Fabulous animals from** ***Christian Topography***



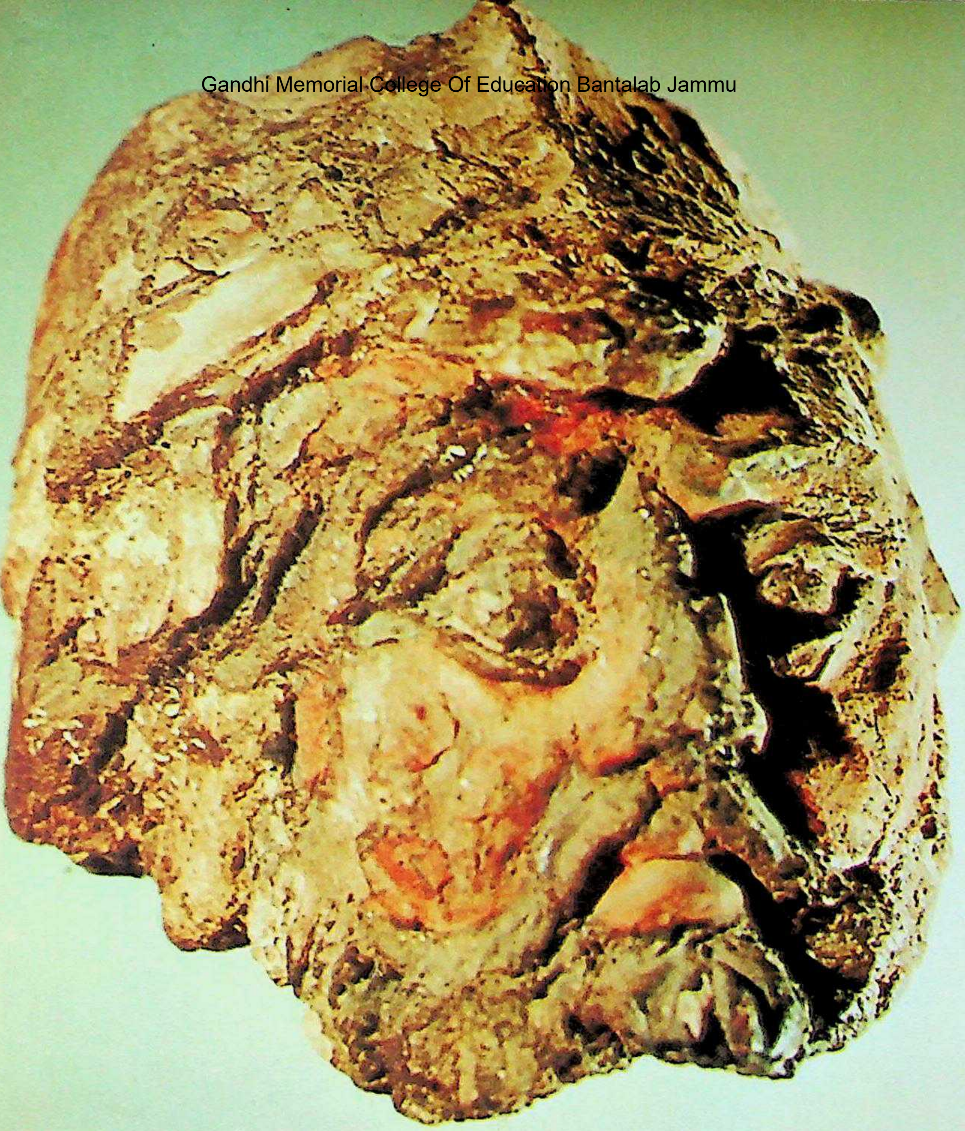
Sculpture. Khalchayan



Head of a ruler from the Geraios dynasty. Khalchayan



Head of a warrior. Khalchayan



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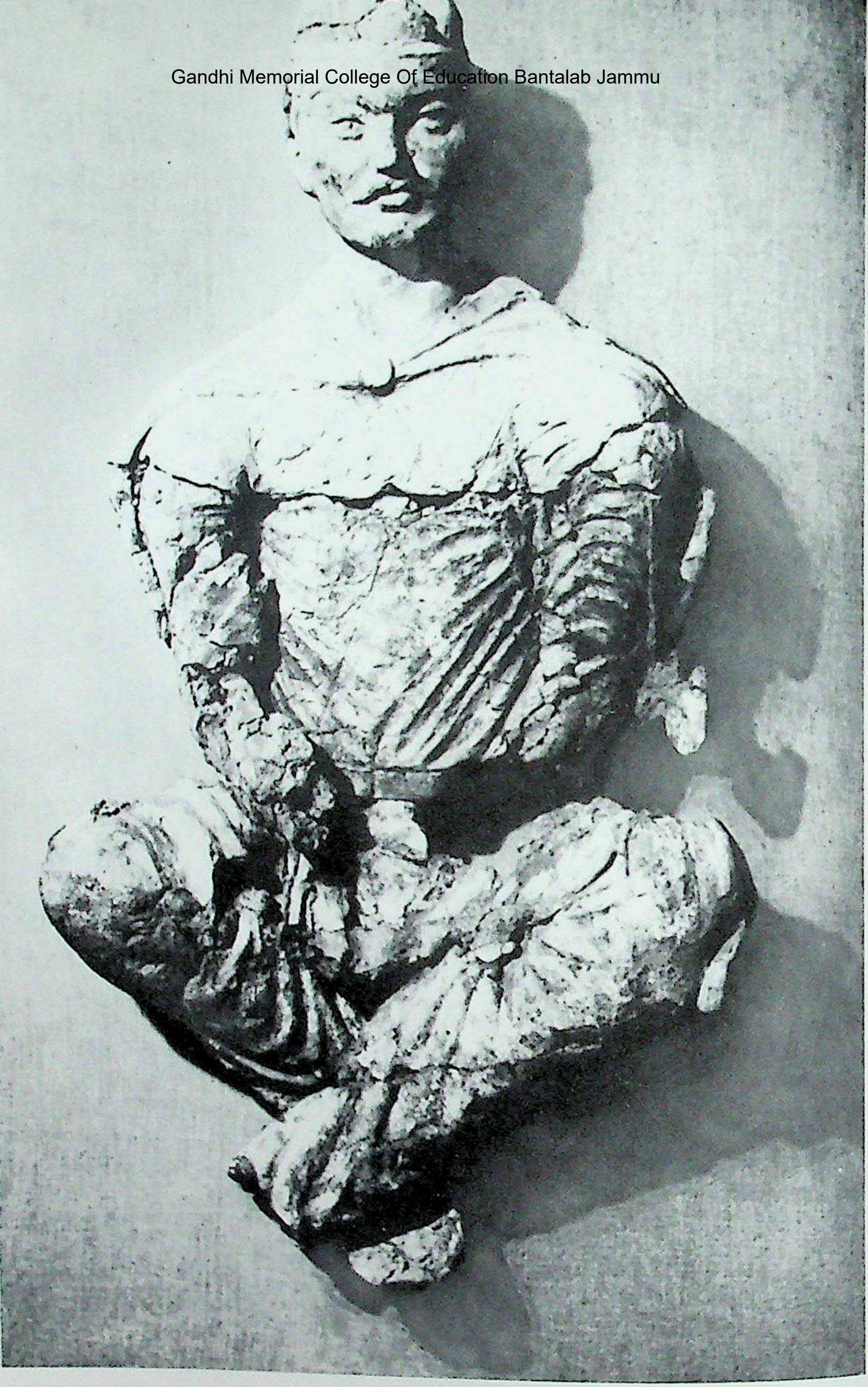
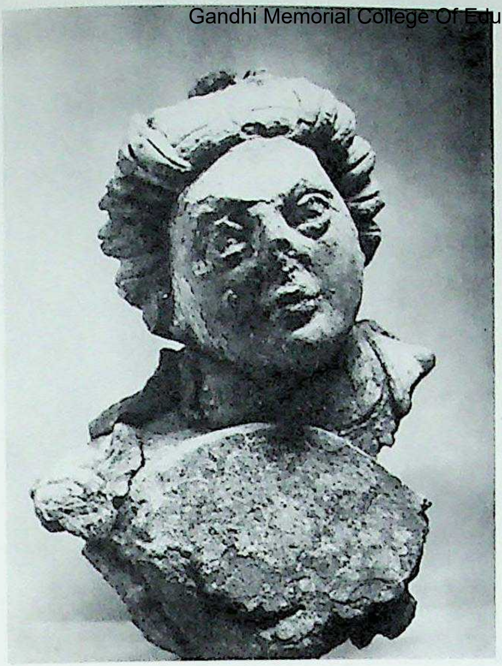
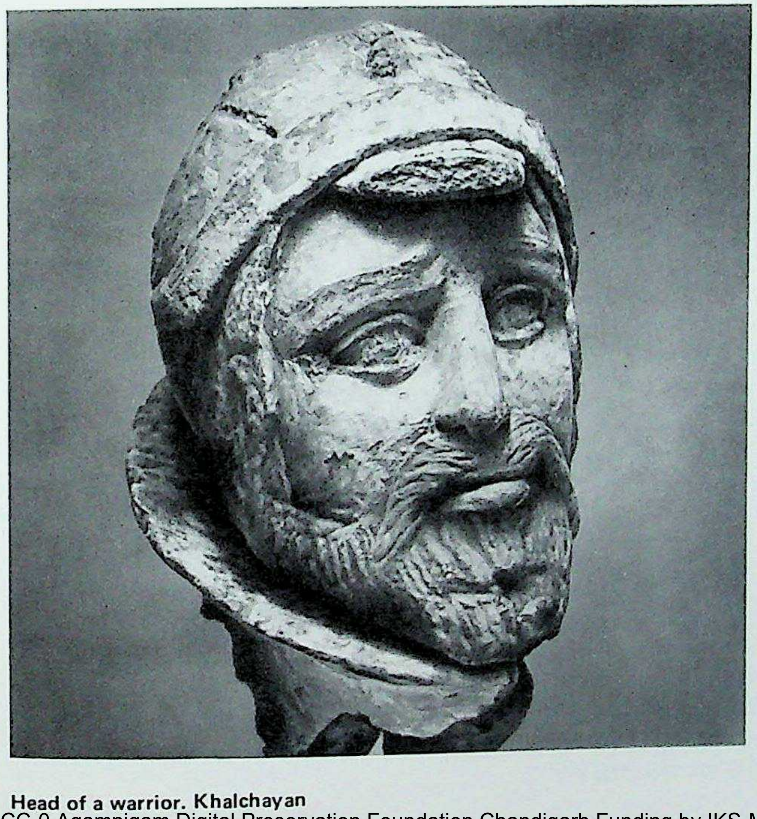


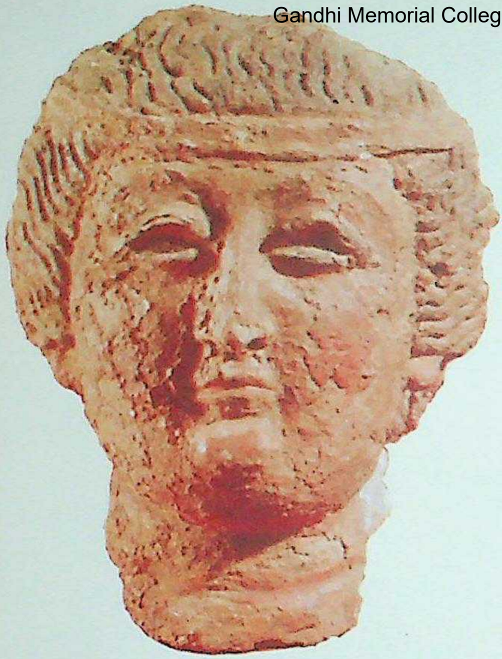
Figure of a warrior. Khalchayan

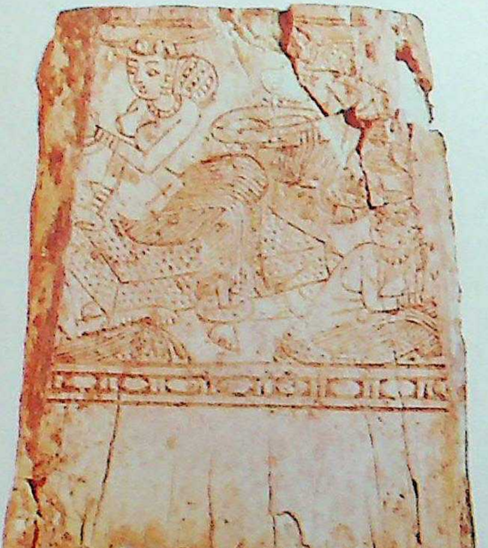


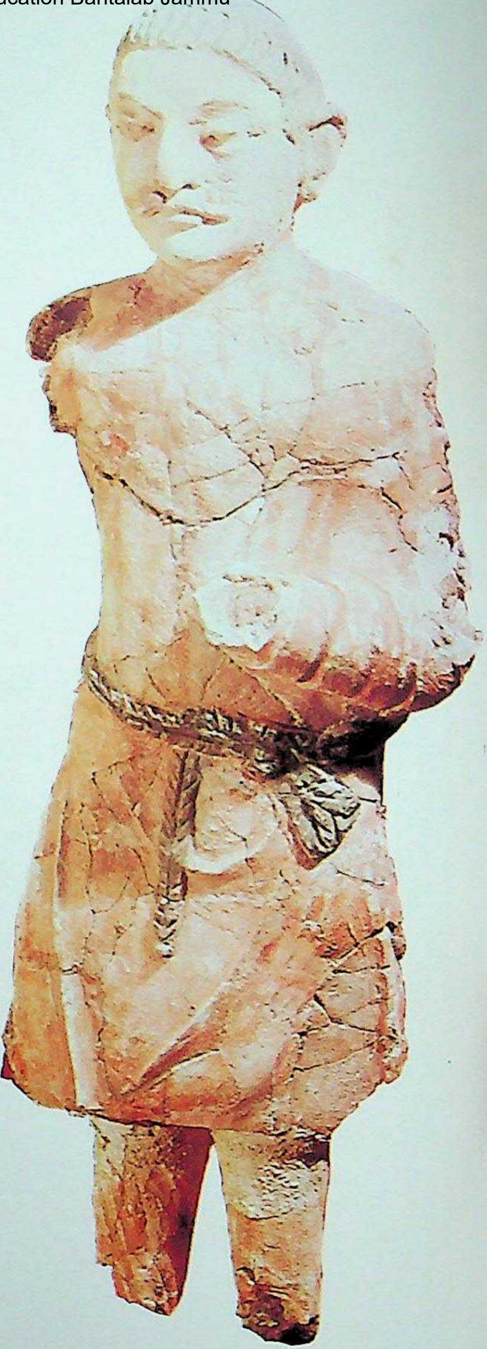
Lute-player. Khalchayan



Head of a warrior. Khalchayan



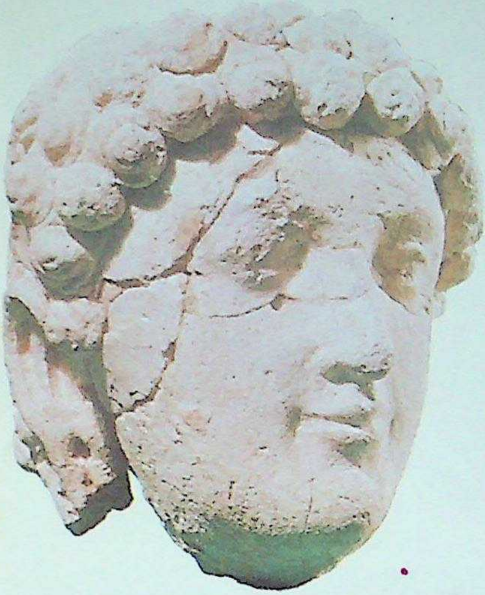




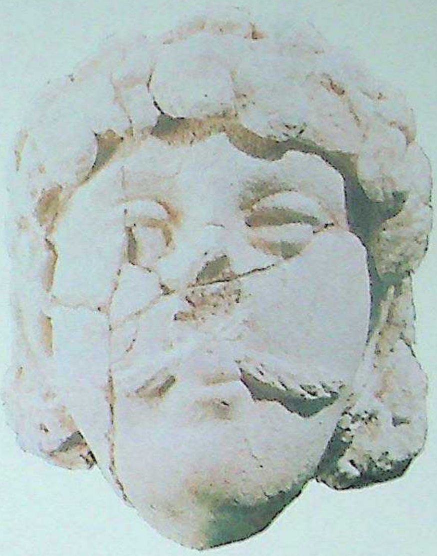
**Head of a Bactrian goddess, 1st century A. D. Dalverzin-tepe**

**Statue of a noble. Dalverzin-tepe**

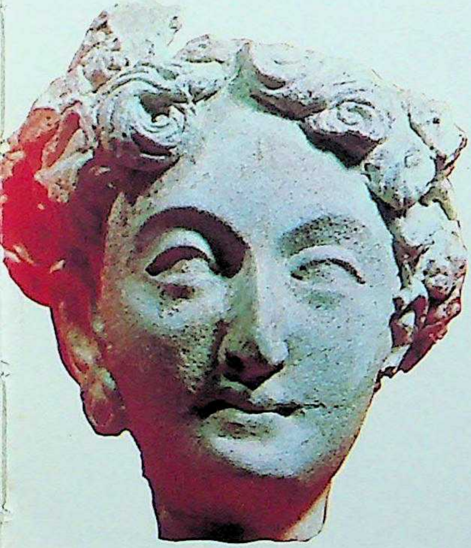
**A comb, 2nd-3rd centuries. Ivory. Dalverzin-tepe**



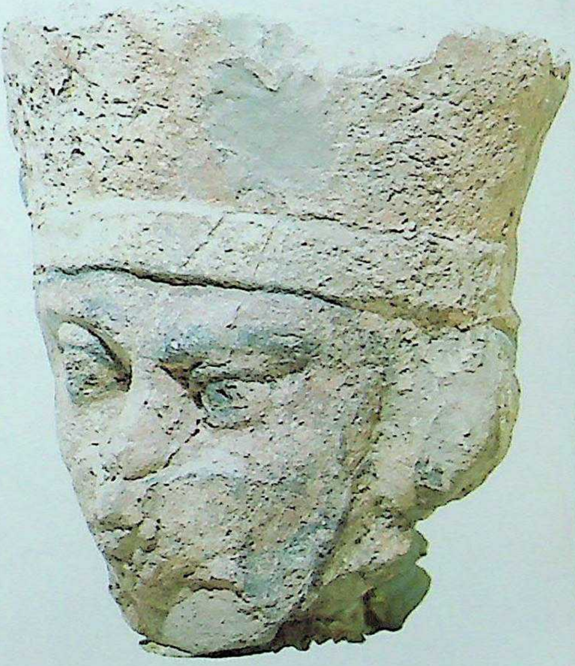
**Head of a worshipper, 1st century A. D.**
**Dalverzin-tepe**



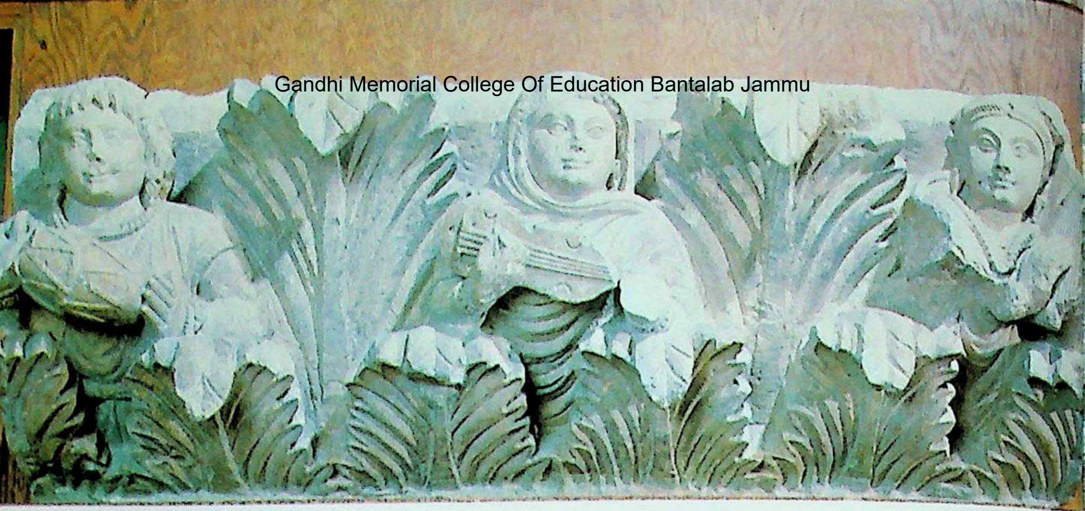
**Head of a worshipper, 1st century A. D.**
**Dalverzin-tepe**



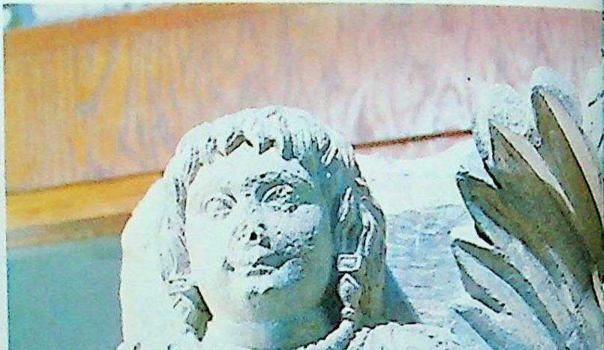
**Head of a *devata*, 1st century A. D.**
**Dalverzin-tepe**



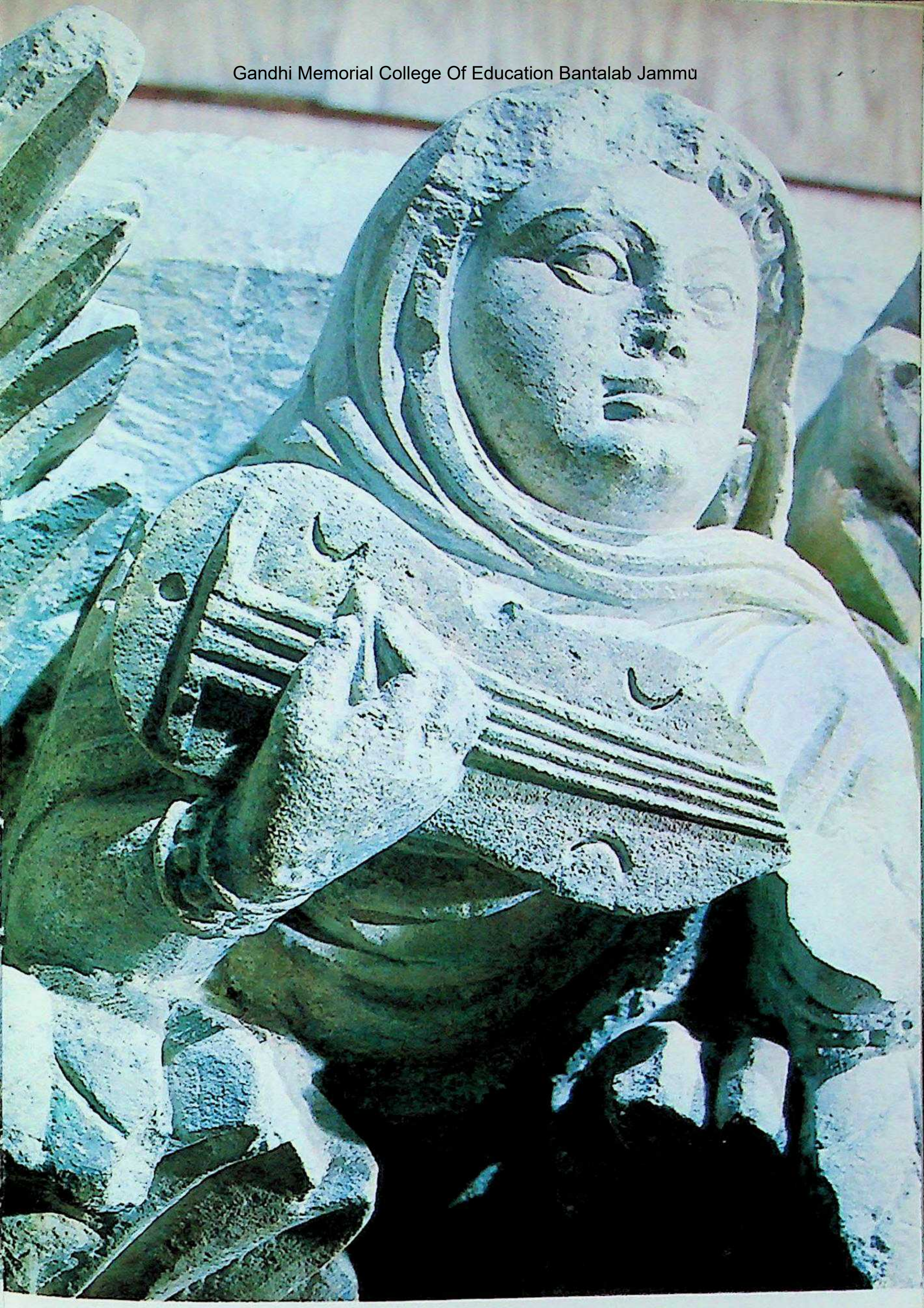
**Clay head of a warrior. Khorezm**



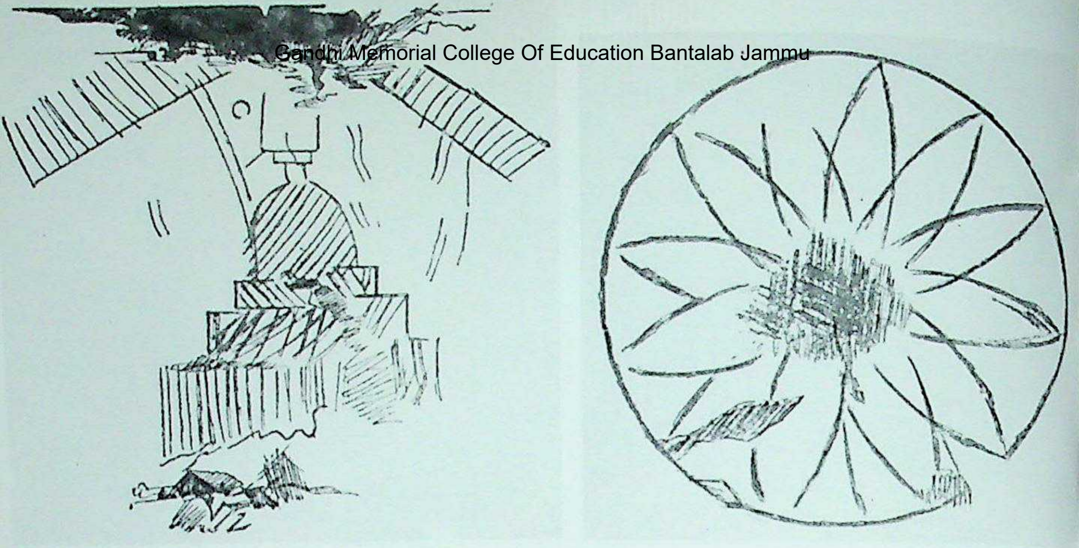
"Musicians". Airtam frieze



Detail. "The Drummer Girl"



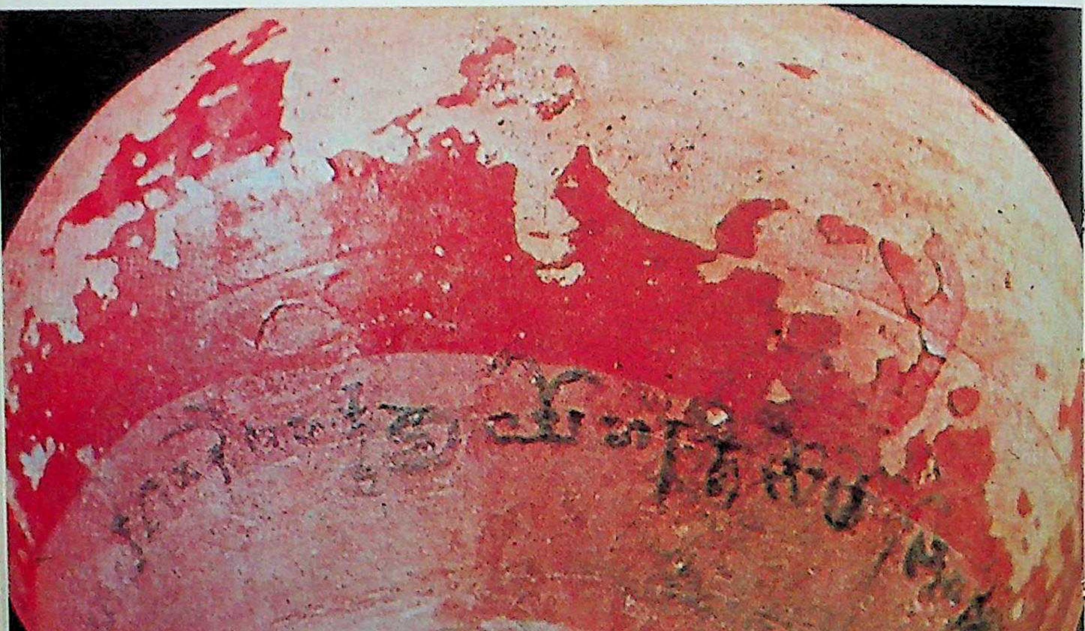
irtam frieze "Musicians". Detail. "The Lute-Player"



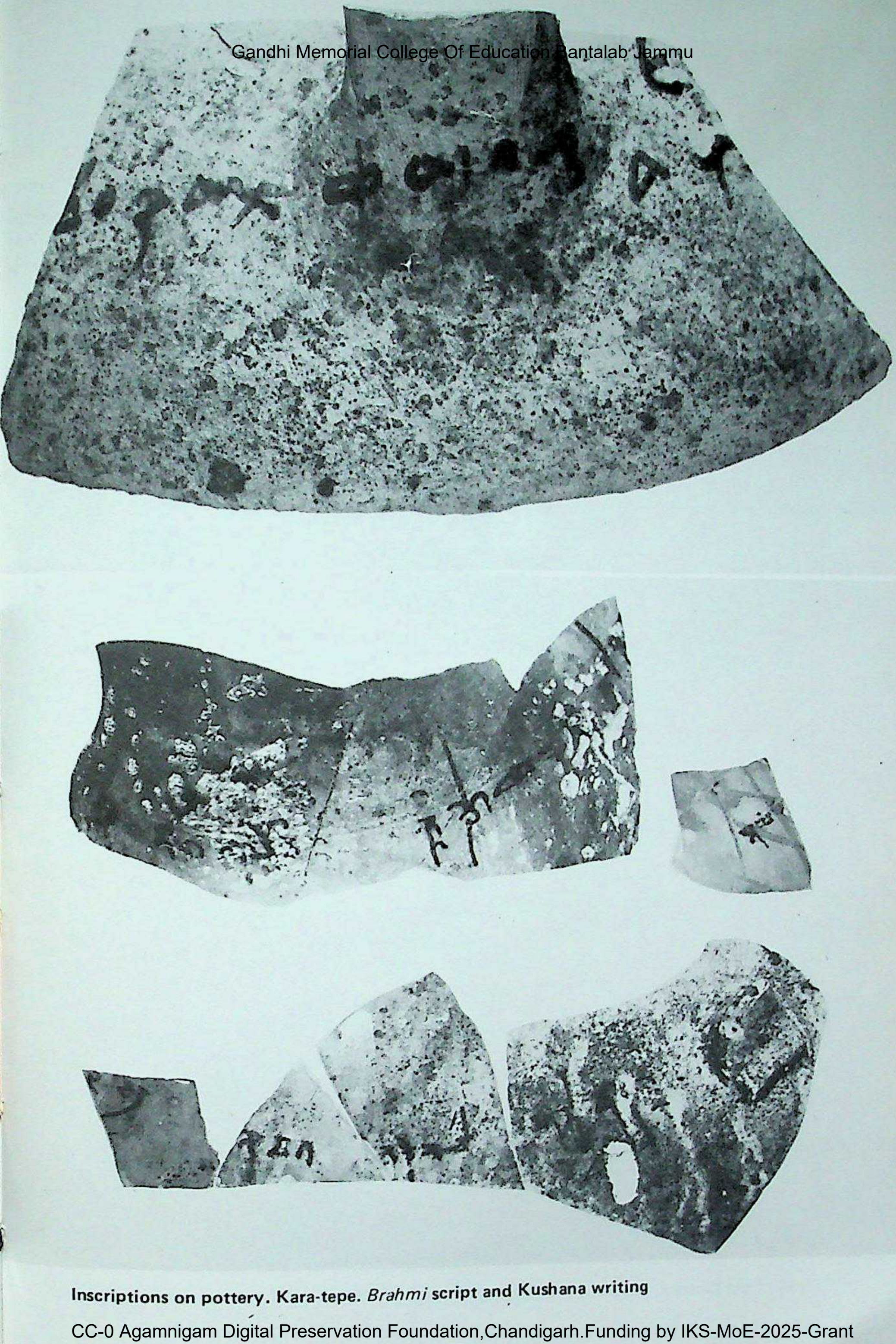
Graffiti. Kara-tepe

A *Stupa*

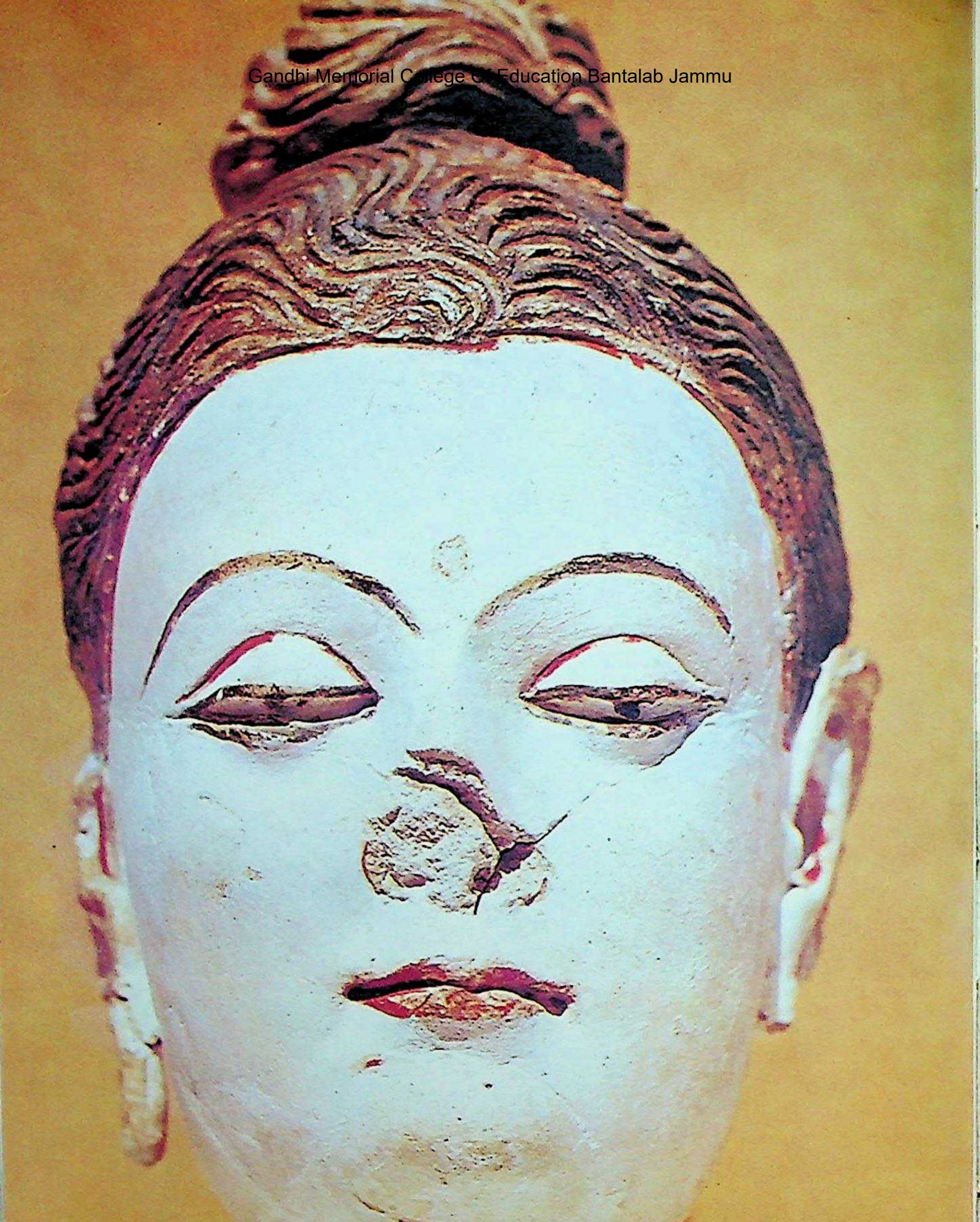
A lotus



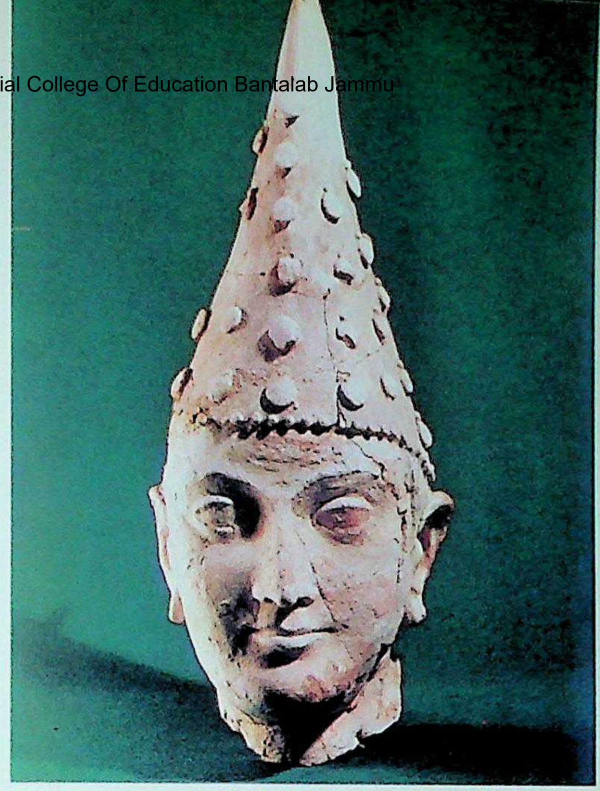
Inscriptions on pottery. *Brahmi* script. Kare-tepe



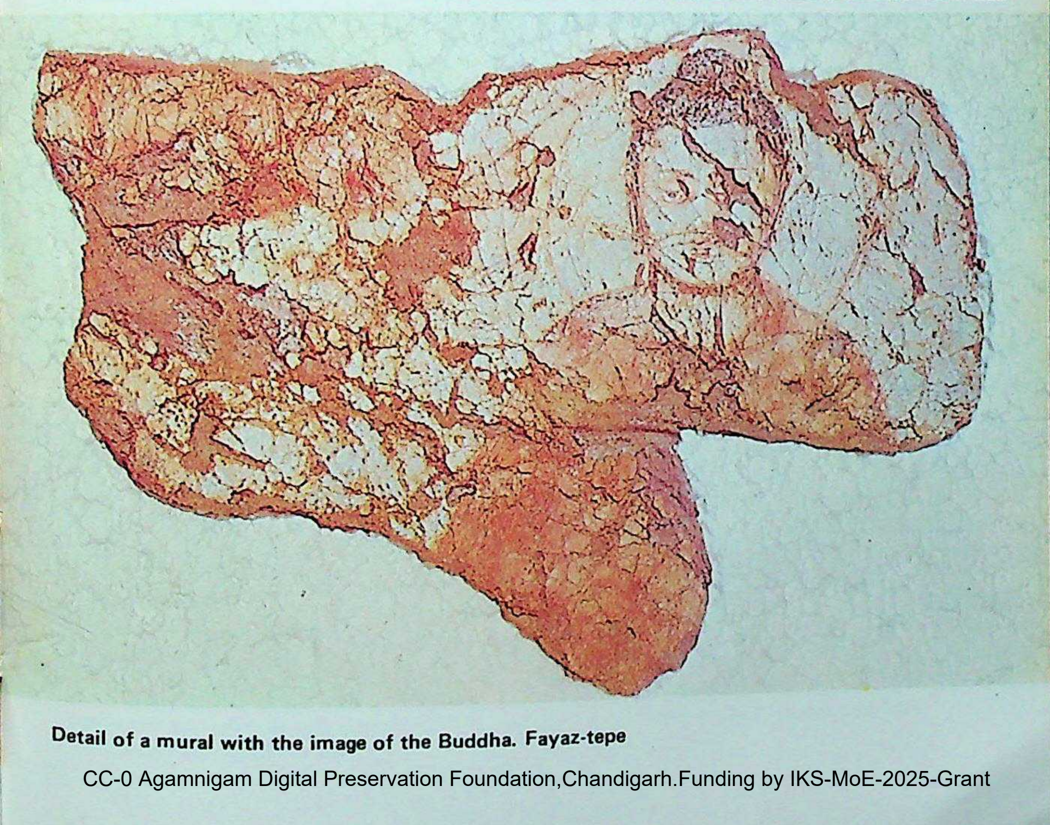
Inscriptions on pottery. Kara-tepe. *Brahmi* script and Kushana writing



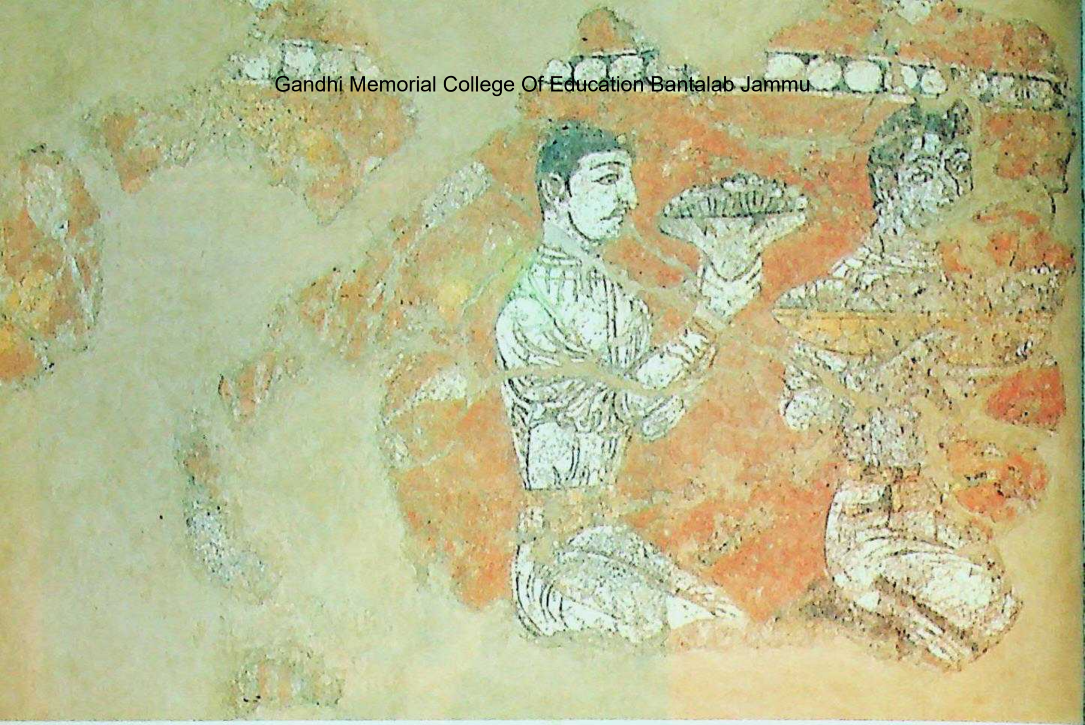
Head of the Buddha. 1st-2nd centuries. Fayaz-tepe



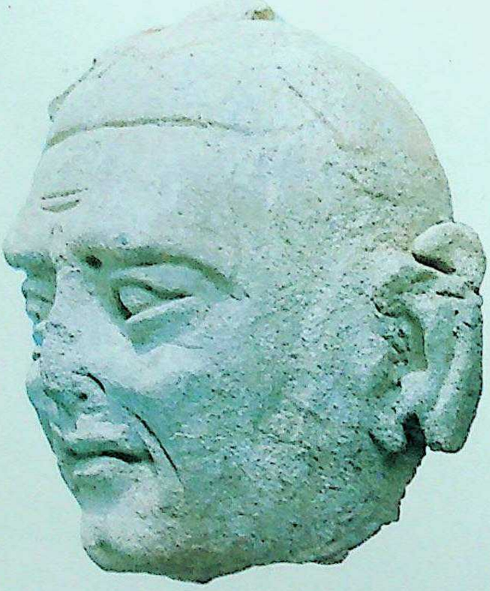
Head of a prince, 1st century A. D.
Dalverzin-tepe



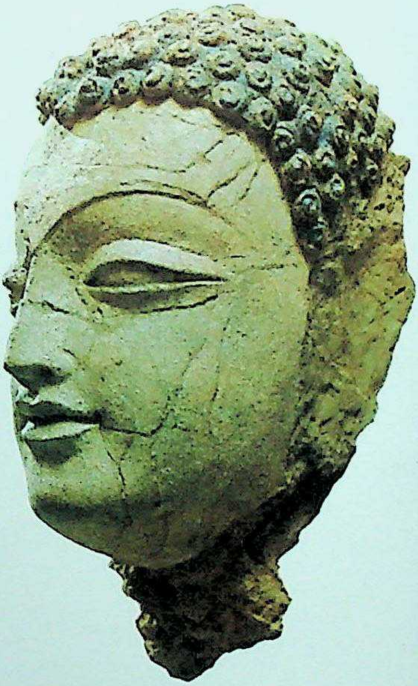
Detail of a mural with the image of the Buddha. Fayaz-tepe



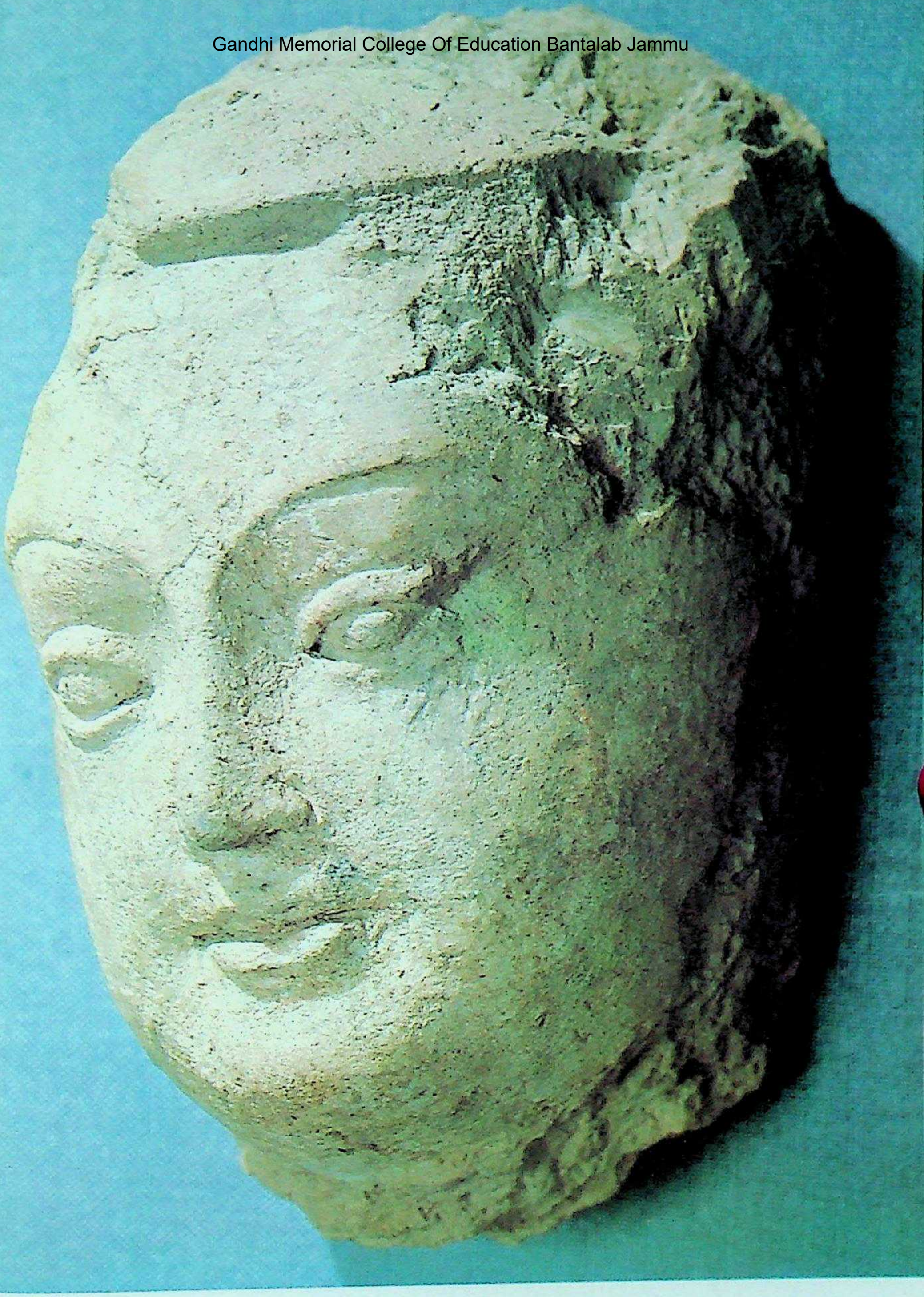
"The Gift-Bearers". Adzhina-tepe



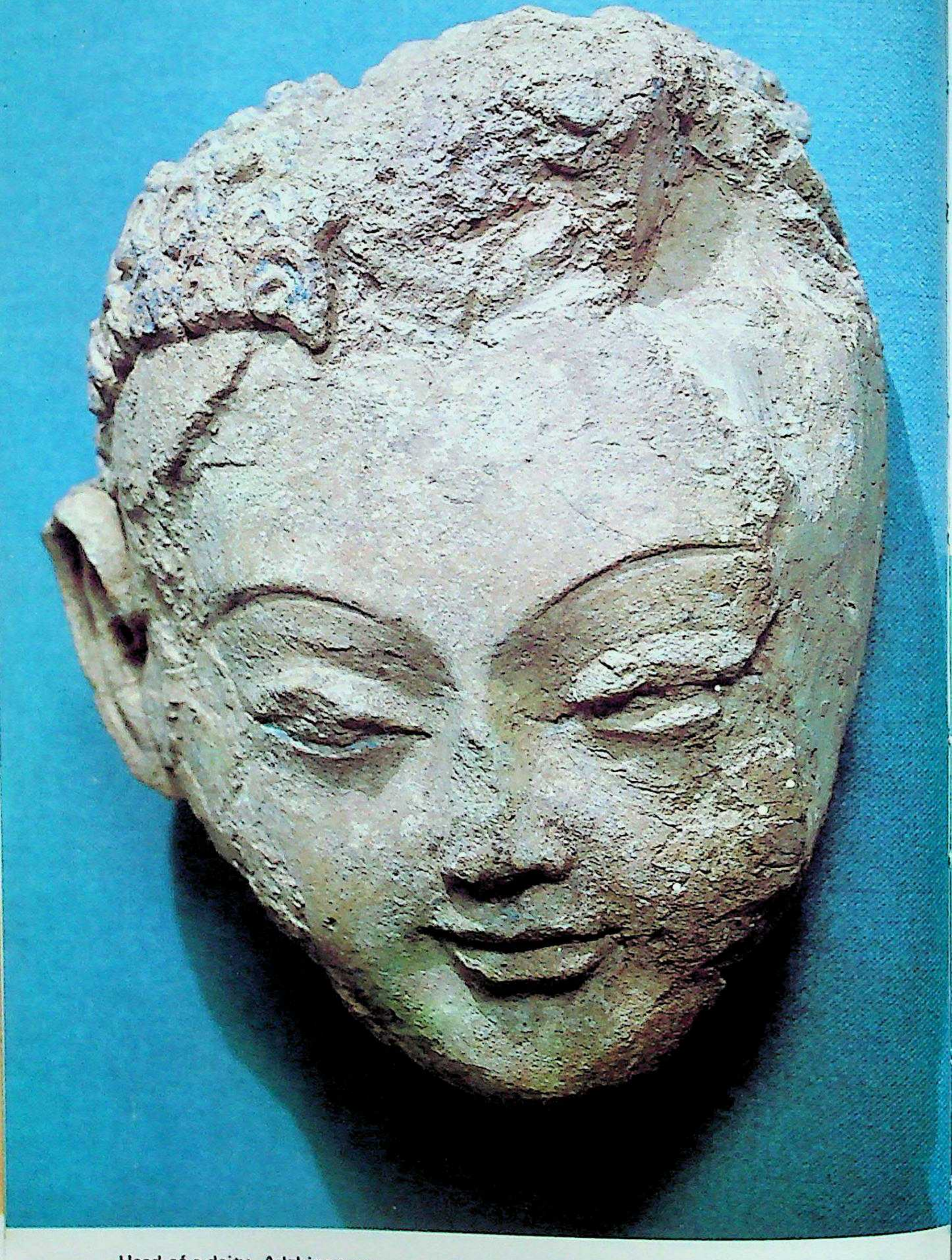
Head of a monk. Adzhina-tepe



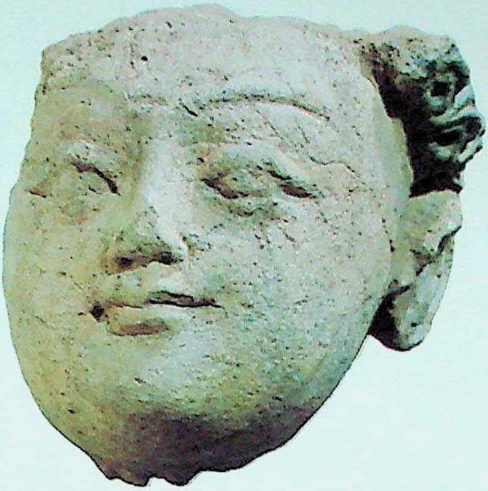
Head of the Buddha. Adzhina-tepe



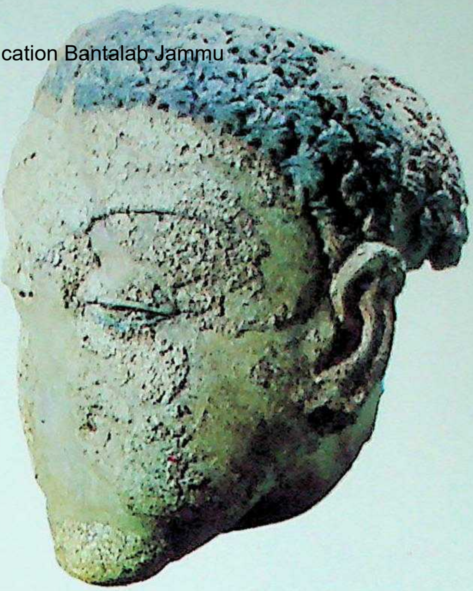
**Woman's head. Adzhina-tepe**



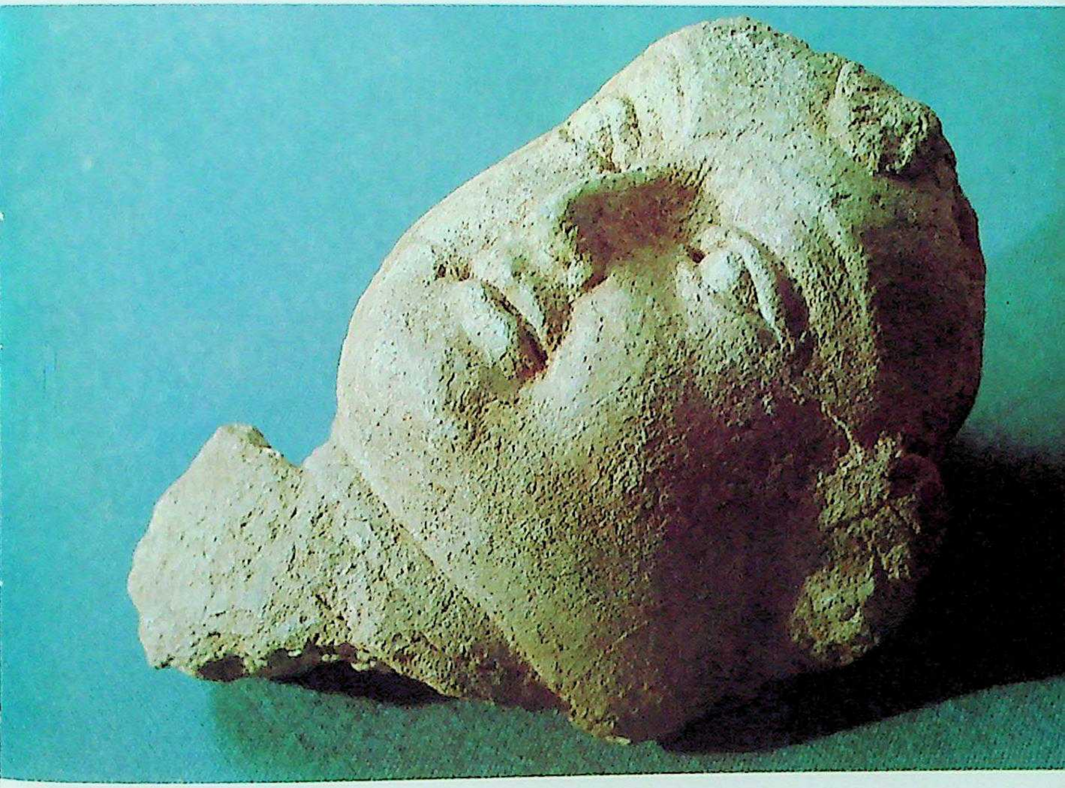
Head of a deity. Adzhina-tepe



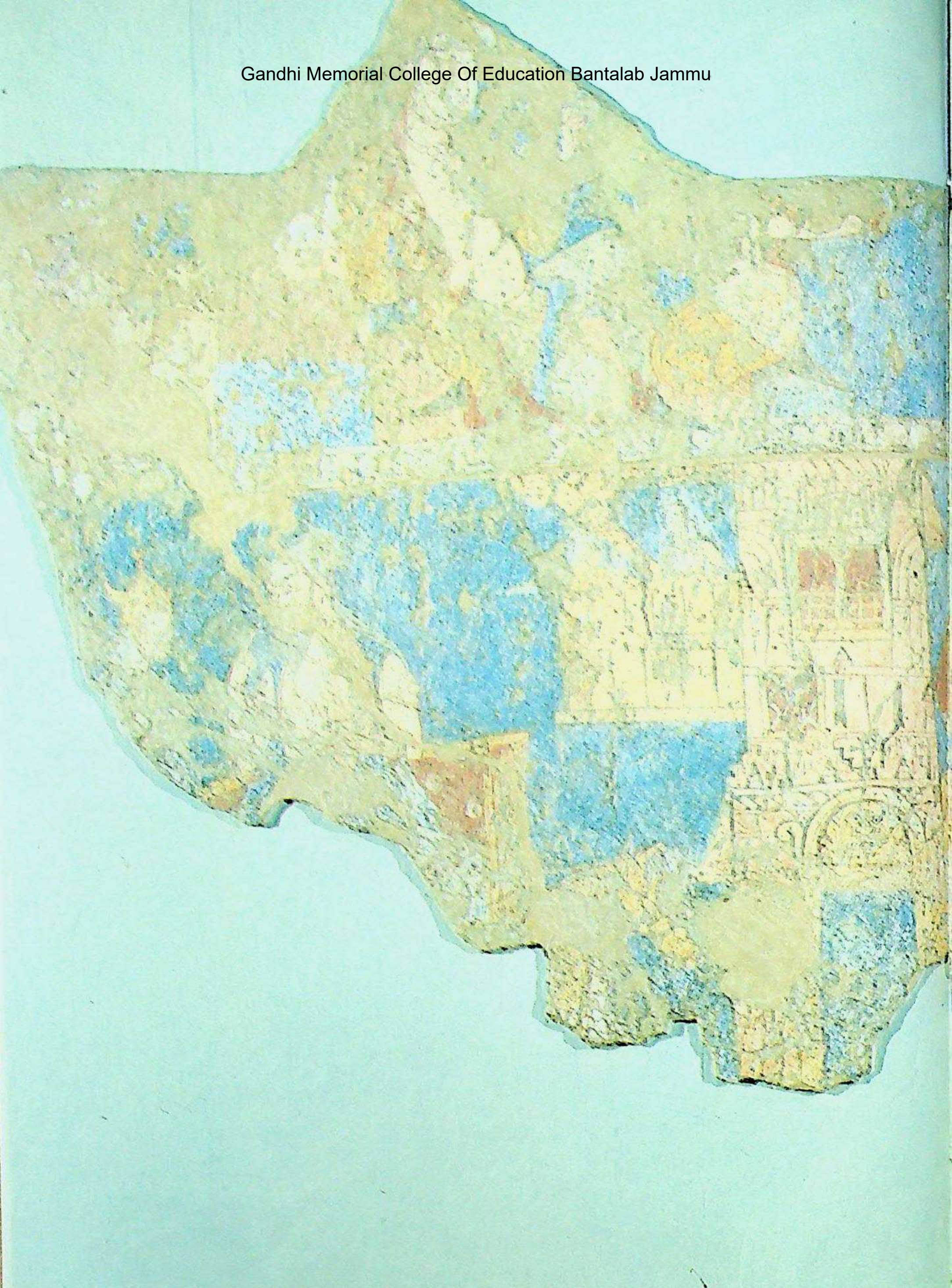
Head of a deity. Adzhina-tepe



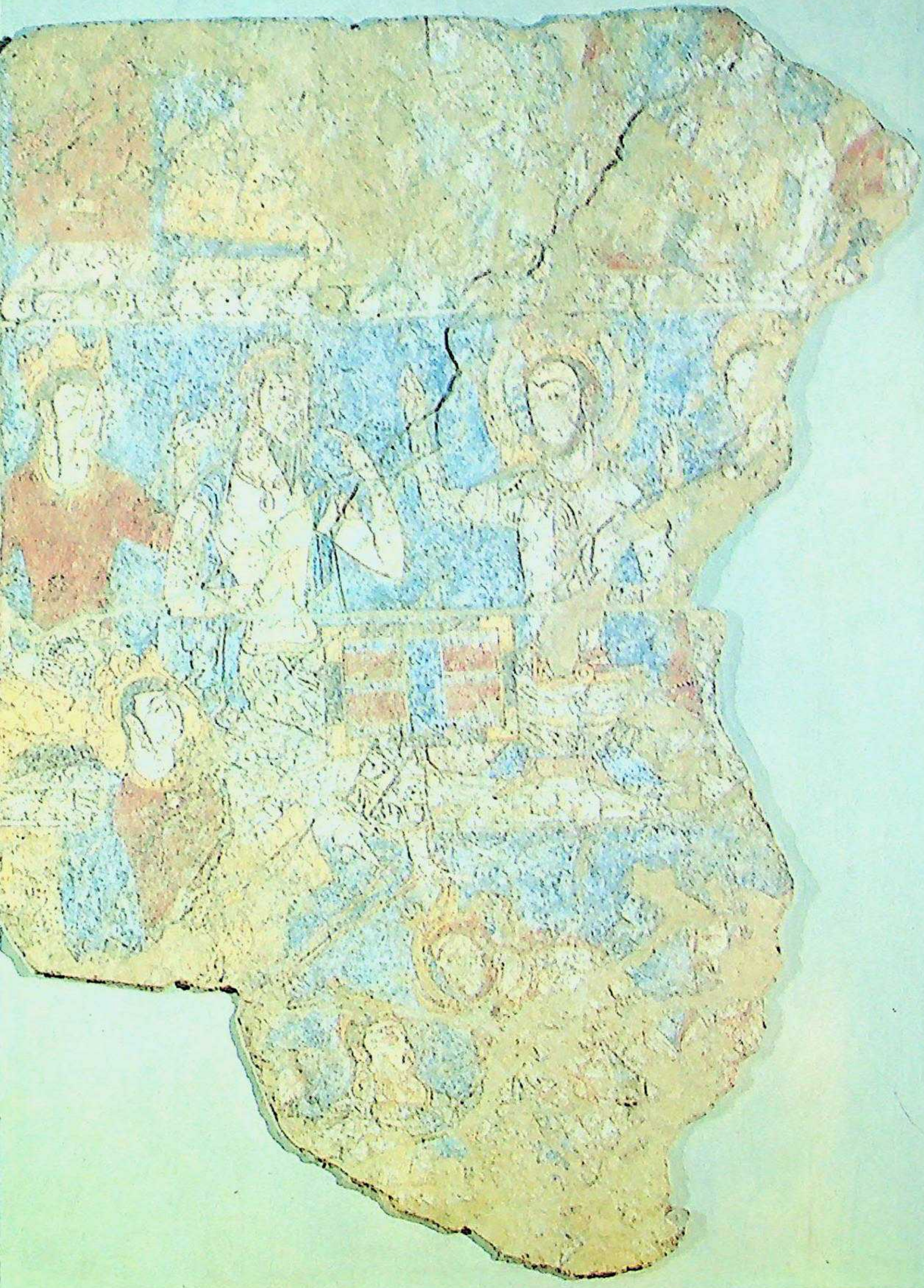
Head of the Buddha (?). Adzhina-tepe

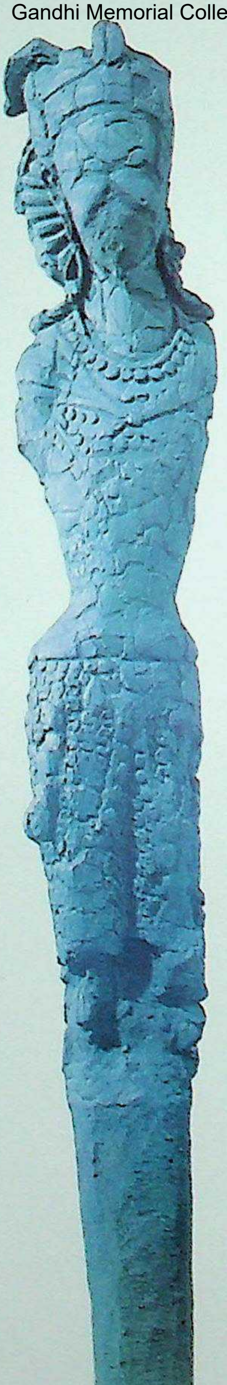


Woman's head. Adzhina-tepe

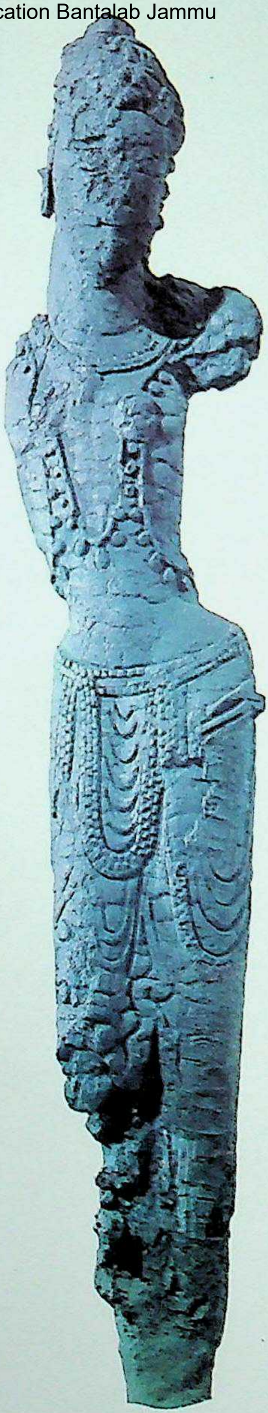


"A Game of Nards", Penjikent

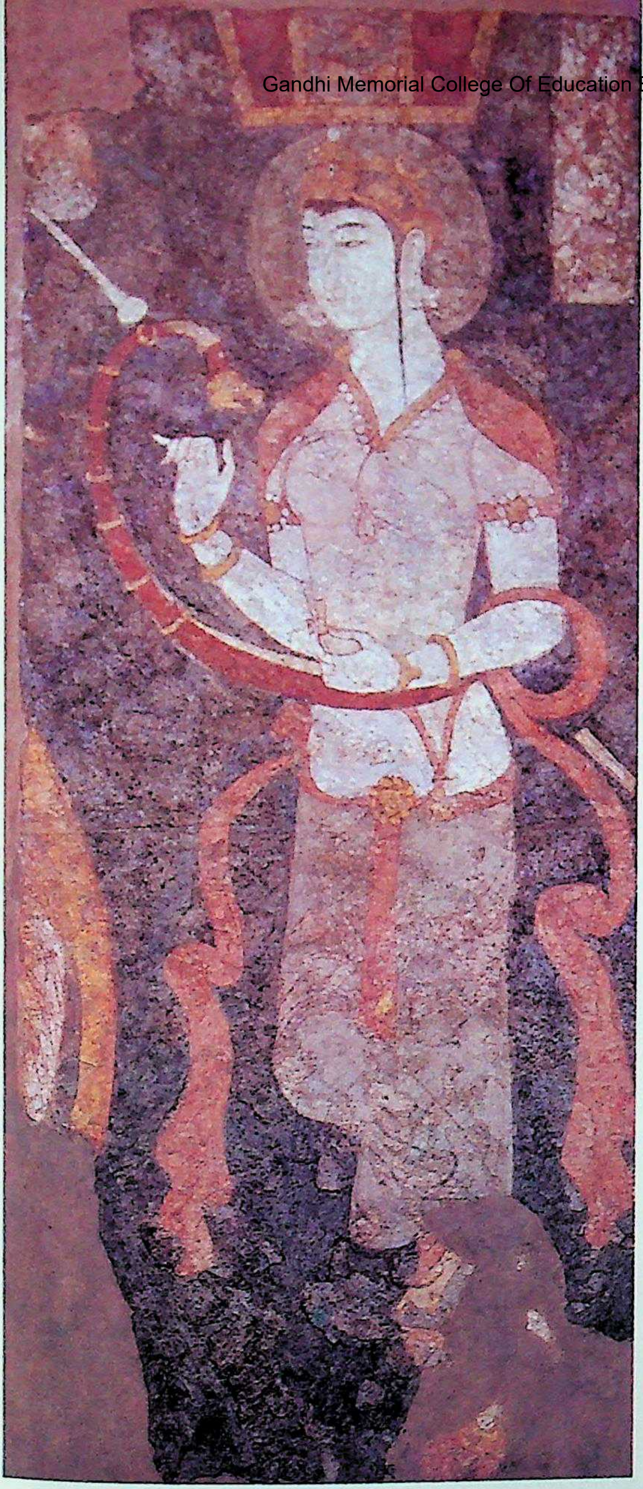




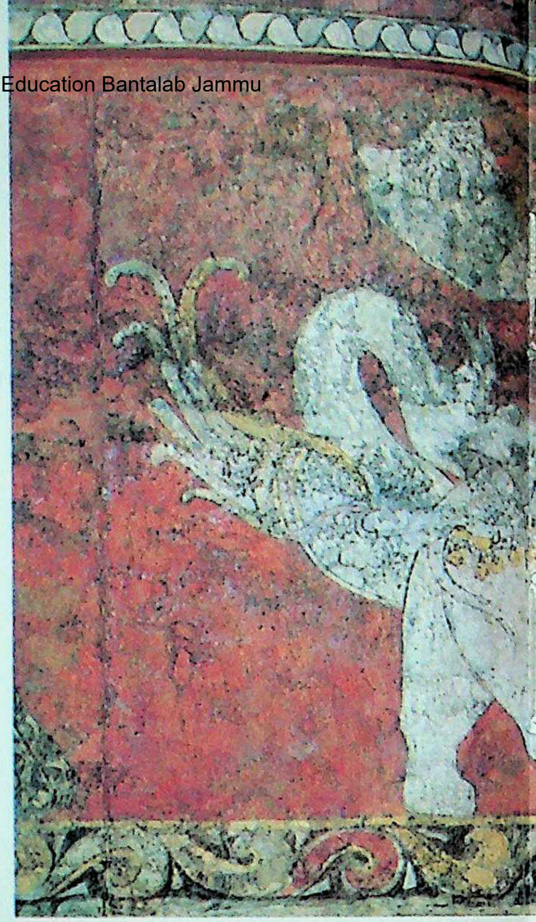
Wooden sculpture. Penjikent



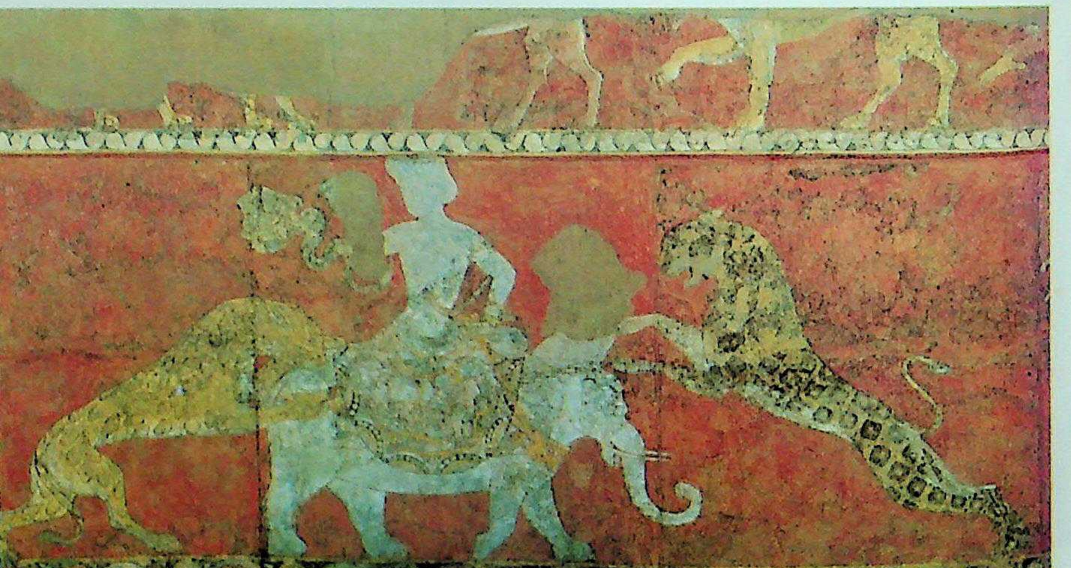
"The Dancer". Wooden sculpture. Penjikent

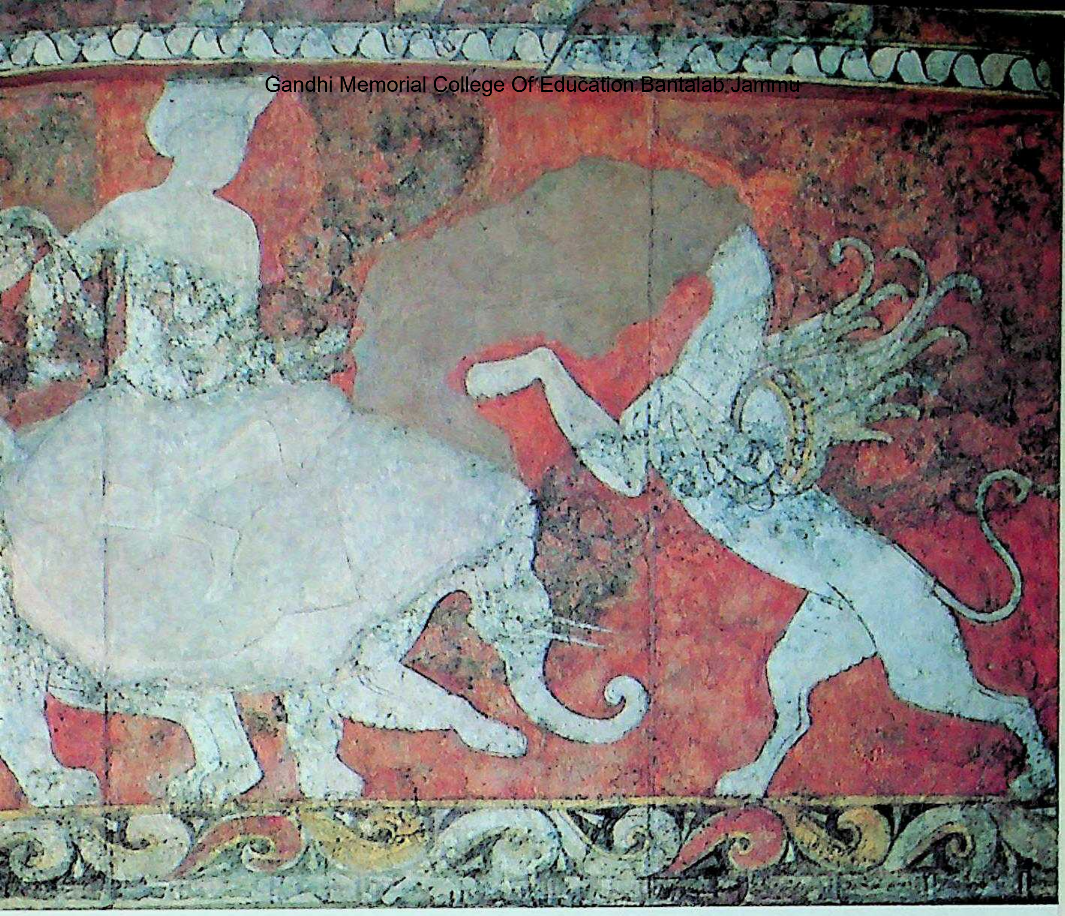


A mural. Penjikent

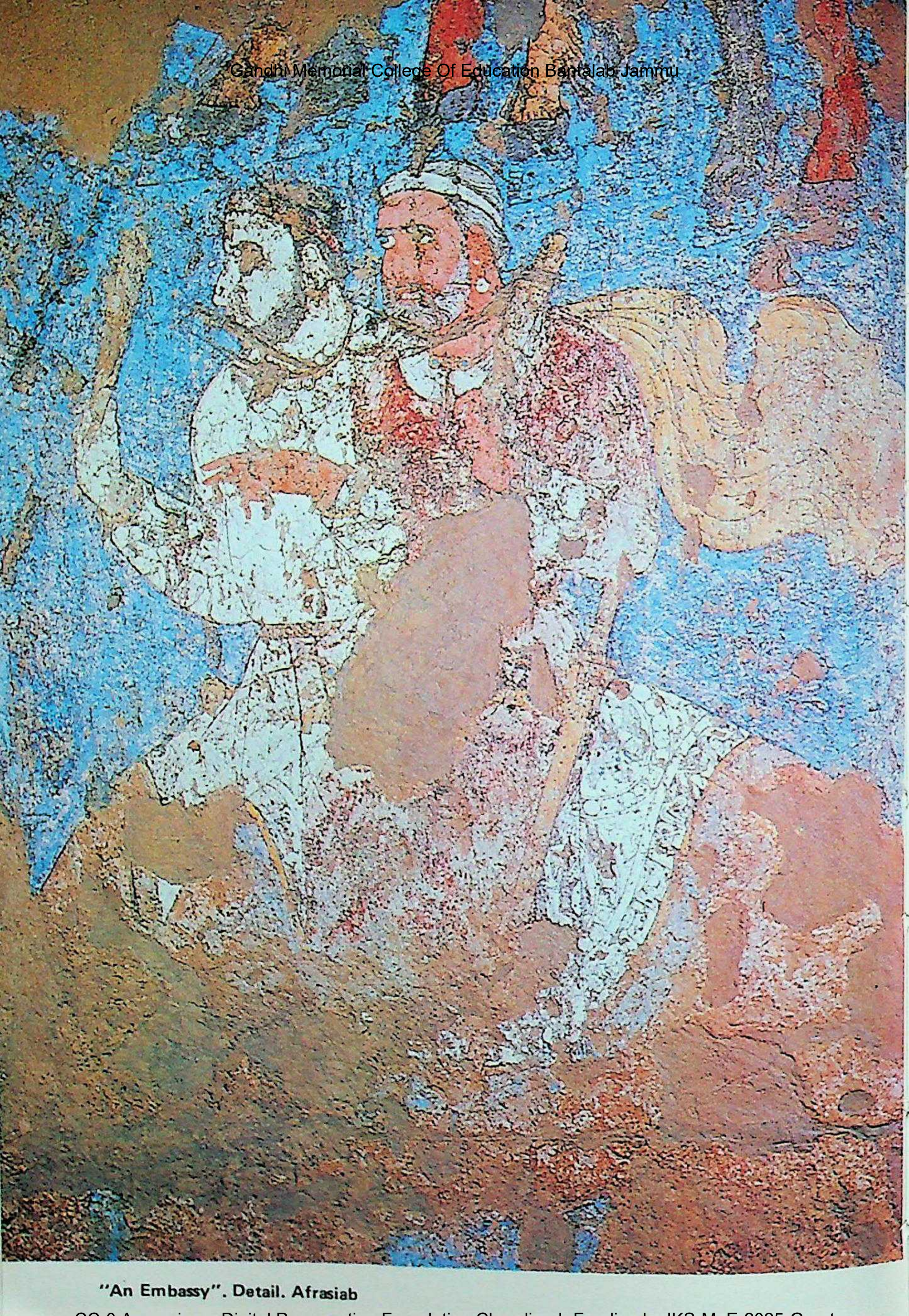


"Griffins". Varakhsha

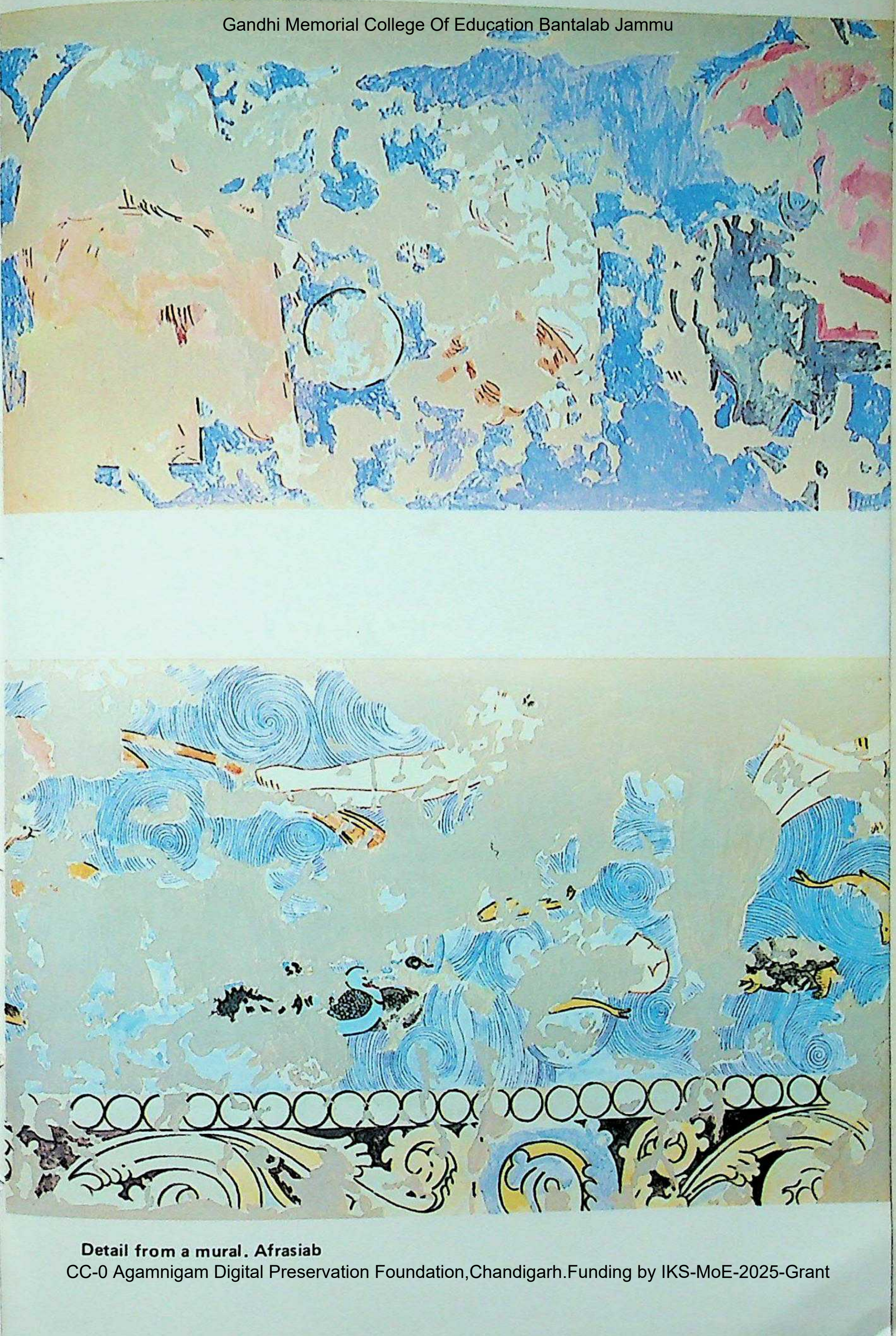




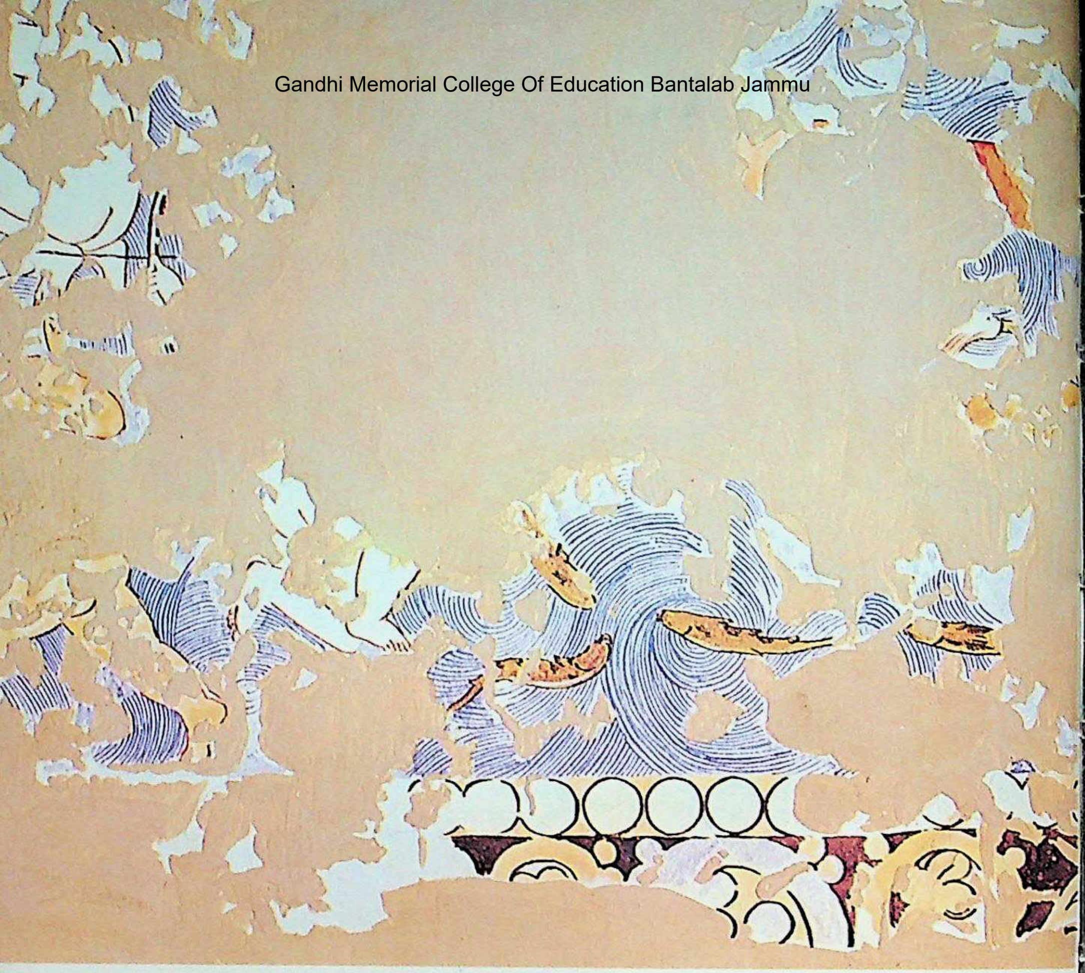
"Panthers". Varakhsha



"An Embassy". Detail. Afrasiab

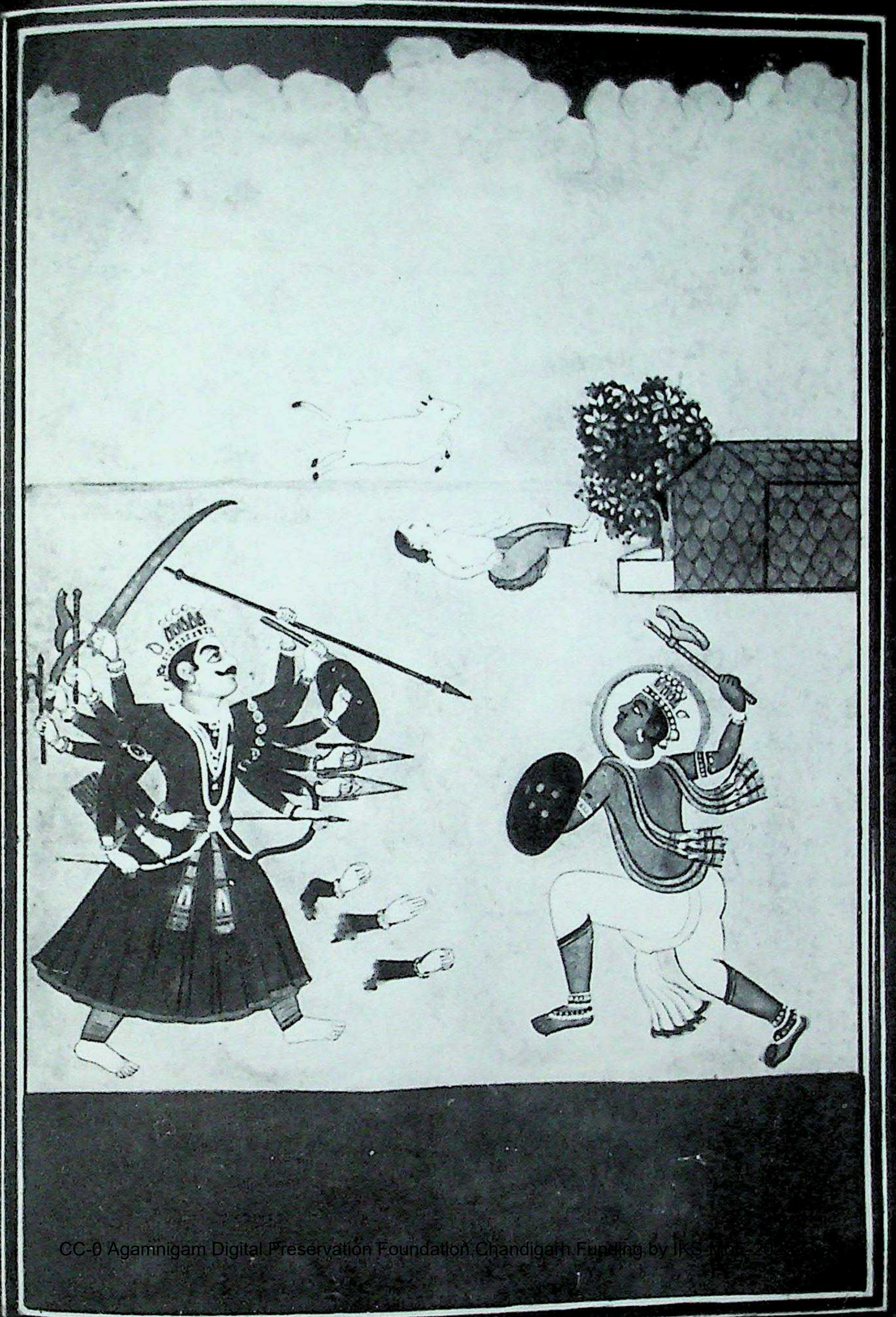


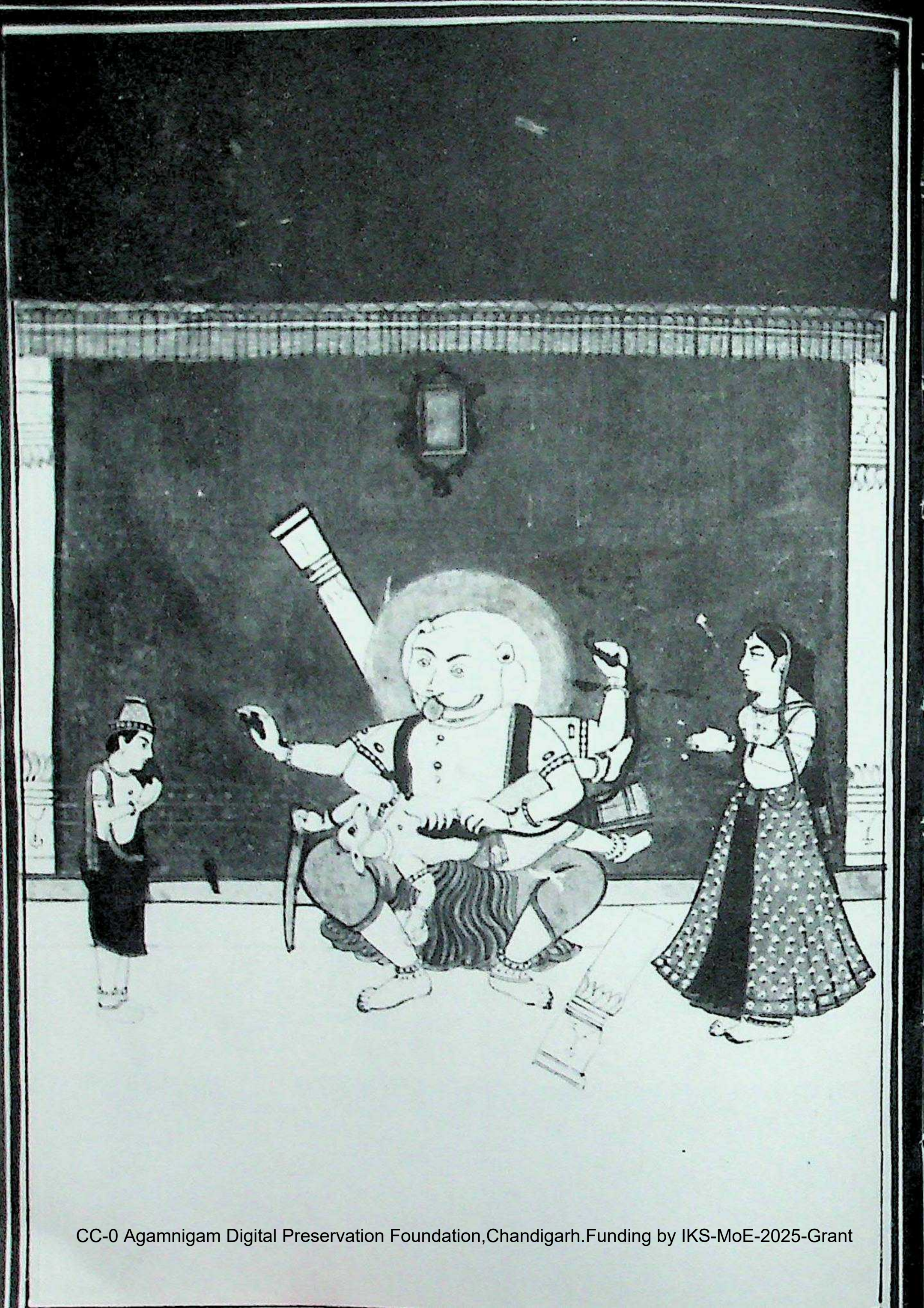
**Detail from a mural. Afrasiab**

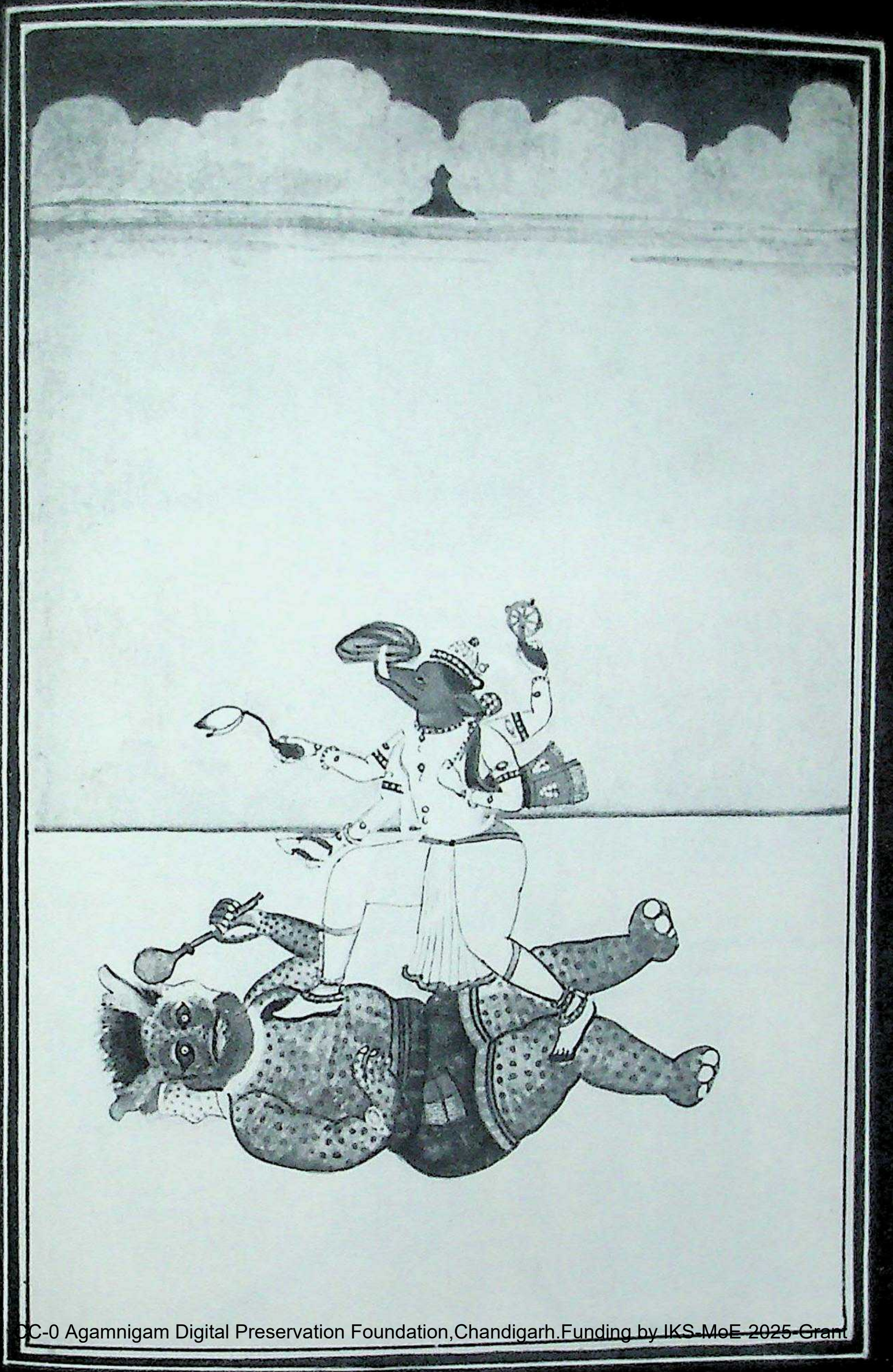


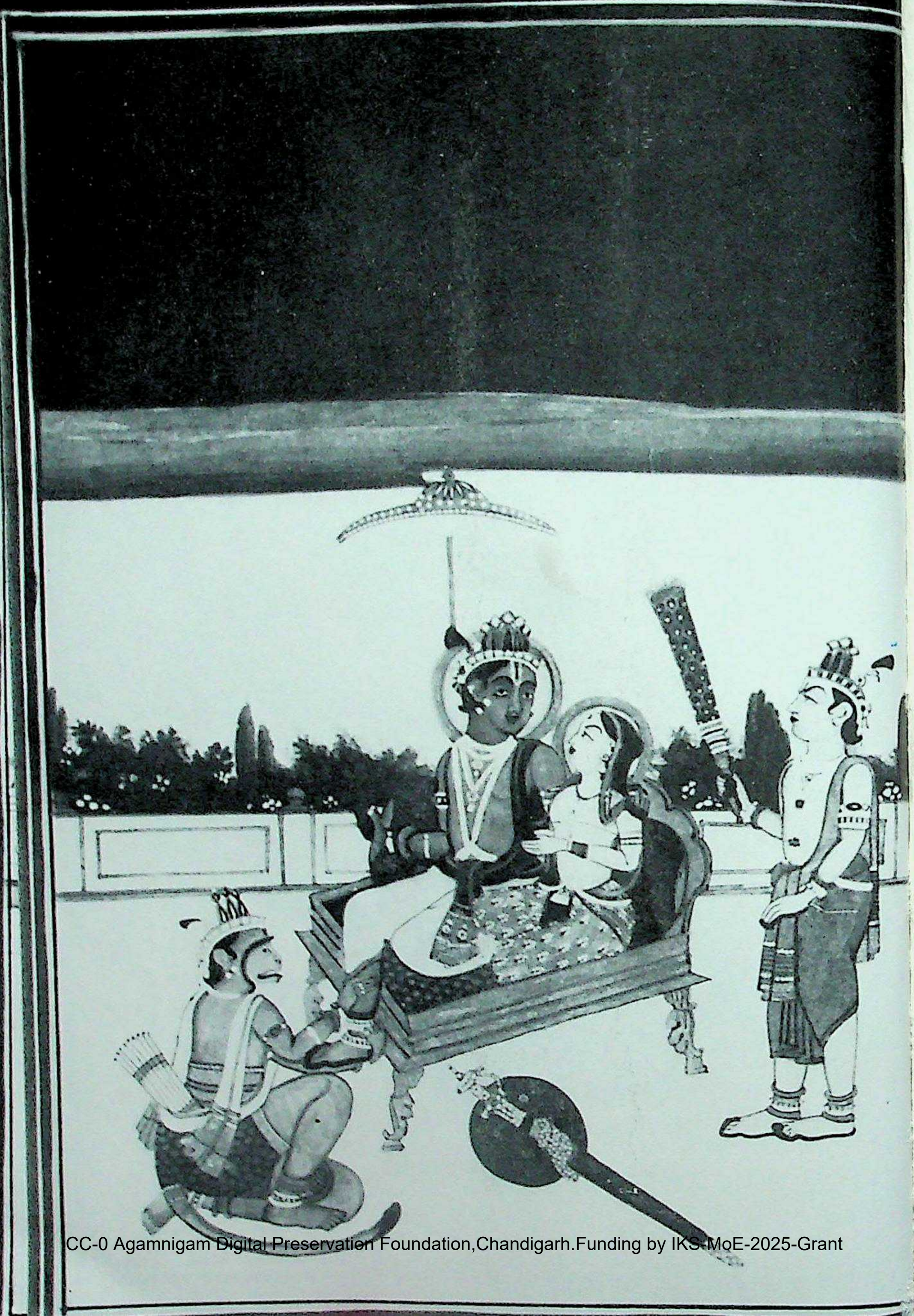
Detail from a mural. Afrasiab

Indian miniatures from the collection of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences









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## Chapter V

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## Chapter VI

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# NAME INDEX

A

Abhedananda–107
Adelung, F.–8, 62, 63, 67, 68
Akbar–51,54
Akhvlediani, G. S.–101, 144, 148
al-Bakri–24
Alayev, L. B.–175-77
Albaum, L. I.–188, 212, 233
Albedil, M. F.–192
al-Biruni–48-51
Alexander the Great–14, 18-20, 46, 53, 198, 202
Alexeyev, V. M.–81, 152
Alexidze, E. G.–184
Alikhanova, Y. M.–179, 180, 183
al-Omari–24
Altekar, A. S.–173
Amarasimha–238
Amaru–106
Amir Khusro–51
Anandavardhana–180
Anbu Ram–35
Andronov, M. S.–184, 196
Anikeyev, N. P.–185
Anton, K. G.–61
Antonova, K. A.–169
Arensky, A. P.–74
Arnold, Edwin–107
Aryabhatta–184
Arya Shura–112, 179
Asanga–138
Ashoka–46, 82, 88, 112-14, 174, 215
Ashvaghosha–80, 106, 214, 240
Askarov, M. A.–188
Aufi, Mohammad–23, 50
Ayer, Ananta Krishna–106
Ayer, Subrahmaniam–106

B

Babur–30, 51
Bana–142, 184
Bandyopadhyaya, N. C.–151
Banerjee, R. D.–157, 190
Baradiin, B.–105
Barannikov, A. P.–87, 101, 103, 112, 149, 151, 155, 160, 163
Bareau, Andre–95
Barth, Auguste–110
Barthold, V. V.–47, 135
Baudouin de Courténay, I. A.–99
Bayer, Gottlieb Siegfried–38
Bekovich-Cherkassky, A.–34
Belenitsky, A. M.–188, 226
Beletsky, A. I.–103
Belinsky, V. G.–67, 68, 71
Bendall, Cecil–117
Benfey, Theodor–61, 82, 112
Berezovsky, M. M.–240
Bergaine, Abel–97, 98, 101
Bhamaha–183
Bhandarkar, Devadatta Ramakrishna–126
Bhandarkar, Ramakrishna Gopal–88, 105, 133
Bharatasena–238
Bhartrihari–87, 179, 184, 238
Bhasa–106, 179, 183
Bhavabhuti–179
Bichurin, N. Ya. (Iakinf)–67
Blok, A. A.–147
Böhtlingk, Otto von–76-78, 100, 237
Bollensen, Friedrich (Fyodor)–68, 76, 78
Bongard-Levin, G. M.–112, 164, 169, 171-73, 181
Bopp, Franz–60, 65, 66, 68, 69, 76, 82
Boriskovsky, P. I.–171
Botero, Giovanni–22, 31
Boulanger, P.–107
Brockhaus, Heinrich–71, 100
Bryansky, M. G.–134, 180, 185
Bryusov, V. Ya.–106
Buddhaghosha–215, 238
Bühler, Georg–89, 100, 110, 127, 128, 135, 142, 149, 184
Bulich, S. K.–77
Bunyiu Nanjio–93, 117
Burnouf, Eugene–66, 68, 71, 75, 80, 93, 106, 129

C

Candragomin–240
Candrakirti–137, 138
Chachi, Badr-ud-din–51
Chanana, Dev Raj–166, 167
Chandra, Lokesh–168
Chatterjee, S.–161

Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar–126, 167
Chattopadhyaya, Bonkim Chandra–54, 91, 155
Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad–126, 131, 138, 142, 143, 151, 167, 168, 185
Chézy, Antoine-Leonard–60
Childe, Gordon–170
Chulkov, M.–38
Colebrooke, Henry Thomas–66
Coomaraswamy, Ananda–114, 115
Cosmas Indicopleustes–53
Cunningham, Alexander–86, 88, 190

D

Dandamayev, M. A.–178
Dandekar, R. N.–10, 167, 168, 180
Dandin–78, 141, 184
Dange, Shripad Amrit–166
Danibegashvili Rafail–7, 55
Das, Golak Nath–40
Das, Sarat Chandra–90
Dasgupta, S. N.–126
Datta, D.–161
Deb, Radhakanta–67
Delbrück, Berthold–100, 104
Deopik, D. V.–171
Devendra–240
Dharmakirti–129-32, 138, 139, 154
Dignaga–130-32, 138, 139, 183
Dikshit, S. K.–170
Dobrolyubov, N. A.–81
Dorn, Bernhard–58, 64, 65, 67, 237
Durgasimha–238
Dutt, Nalinaksha–95, 126, 137
Duvernoise, Alexander–99

E

Engels, Friedrich–104, 130
Eranshahri–50
Erman, V. G.–179, 180, 183
Ewald, Georg–76

F

Fausböll, V.–92
Faustus of Byzantium–52
Finot, Louis–117
Fortunatov, F. F.–70, 97, 98
Foucher, A.–110
Fraehn, Christian–64-68, 70
Frank-Kamenetsky, I. G.–155
Franko, Ivan–107

G

Gafurov, B. G.–168, 173
Gamkrelidze, T. V.–173
Ganapati Shastri–106, 183
Gandhi, Indira–169
Gandhi, Mahatma–9, 107
Ghoshal, U. N.–157
Goldberg, N. M.–87
Gonda, Jan–167
Gopal, Lallanji–176, 236
Gopinatha–238
Gorky, Maxim–9, 123, 147
Gosteyeva Ye. I.–185
Granovsky, T. N.–75
Grantovsky, E. A.–173
Grigoryev, V. V.–71, 77
Grintzer, P. A.–178, 179, 181-83
Grünwedel, Albert–114, 115
Guha, A.–169
Gulak-Artemovsky, P.–64
Gunadhya–155, 239
Gupta, H. C.–128, 129, 133, 141
Gupta, S. P.–85, 188
Gurov, N. V.–191, 196
Guseva, N. R.–186

H

Haribhadra–239
Harmatta, J.–212
Hemacandra–77, 239
Heraios–201
Hilferding, A.–74
Hoernle, Rudolf–90
Homer–40, 104

I

Ibn Battuta–24
Ibn Fadlan–23
Ibn Haukal–24
Ilyin, G. F.–157, 159, 168, 169, 173, 175-77
Indraji, Bhagwanlal–88, 89
Isayeva, N. V.–185
Ivanov, V. V.–173, 183, 184, 186

J

Jacobi, Hermann–110, 128, 129, 135
Jaiswal, Suwira–166, 167
Jami–51
Jayadeva–70, 238
Jayarama–238
Jayaswal, K. P.–173
Jha, G.–126
Jimutavahana–71
Jones, William–40, 42, 43
Joshi, J. P.–171, 198

K

Kadphises I—201, 203
Kadphises II —203
Kalhana—68
Kalidasa—8, 40, 65, 73, 77, 78, 102, 106, 107, 142, 179, 183, 238, 239
Kalyanov, V. I.—142, 160, 177, 179
Kamalashila—139, 238
Kane, P. V.—165
Kangle, R. P.—165
Kant, I.—130, 139
Kapeller, Carl—100
Karamzin, N. M.—8, 40, 64
Karve, I.—177
Kasimov, Mohammed-Yusup—33
Kedara—66
Kehr, Georg Jacob—37, 38, 62
Keil, Carl—100
Kern, Hendrik—77, 93, 95, 110, 112, 117
Keshava Mishra—239
Khojamal, Tovmas—55
Khomyakov, A. S.—73-75
Khorezmi, Musa—48
Kircher, Athanasius—37
Kirillov, I.—35
Klementz, D. A.—105, 119, 240
Knauer, Friedrich—99-101, 104
Knorozov, Y. V.—170, 191, 192, 194
Kochergina, V. A.—184
Kokovtsev, P. K.—135
Korotskaya, A. A.—186
Korsch, F. Y.—70, 99
Kosambi, D. D.—126, 166, 167
Koshelenko, G. A.—188
Kossovich, I. A.—75
Kossovich, K. A.—8, 71-73, 82, 99, 103
Kotovsky, G. G.—87, 169, 177, 178
Kozhin, A.—34, 35
Krishna Mishra—42, 71, 72, 107
Krushevsky, N. I.—99
Kshemendra—112, 184, 239
Kudryavsky, D. N.—104
Kudryavtsev, M. K.—177
Kuhn, Adalbert—61, 98
Kuhn, Ernst—100
Kullanda, S. V.—178
Kunte, Mahadeo Maheshvar—89
Kutsenkov, A. A.—177
Kuzmina, Y. Y.—173
Kyzlasov, L. R.—223

L

Lahiri, A. N.—165
Lakshmivallabha—239
Lal, B. B.—167, 168, 171, 198, 236
Larin, B. A.—101, 151, 183
Lassen, Christian—68, 76
Law, B. Ch.—126, 173
Lebedev, Gerasim—8, 40-45, 161, 238
Lenin, V. I.—9, 120-23, 145, 146, 148
Lenz, Robert—65-68, 78
Levi, Sylvain—110, 134, 139, 140, 142, 144, 162, 215
Litman, A. D.—131
Litvinsky, B. A.—173, 188, 197, 215, 217, 222
Livshitz, V. A.—209, 223
Lobachevsky, N. I.—69
Lomonosov, M. V.—7, 35, 62
Lüders, Heinrich—95, 142
Lunin, M.—75
Lyall, Alfred—90
Lysenko, V. G.—185

M

Mackay, E.—170, 191
Mahadevan, I.—195
Maikov, A. N.—17
Majumdar, R. Ch.—151, 175
Mammata—238
Mandelshtam, A. M.—173, 197
Marr, N. Y.—135, 148
Marshall, John—116, 191
Martin, Francois—54
Marx, Karl—75, 102, 158, 175
Maspero, Henri—162
Masson, V. M.—170, 171, 173, 188-90
Mayevsky, Valentin—64
Medvedev, Y. M.—174-77
Meillet, Antoine—162
Mercator, Gerhardus—22
Mervart (Meerwarth) A. M.—105, 106, 151
Mervart (Meerwarth) L. A.—105, 106
Messerschmidt, Daniil—37
Meyer, Leo—100
Miller, V. F.—70, 98, 99, 101
Minayev, I. P.—8, 10, 29, 69, 73, 81-95, 97, 101, 103, 104, 106, 107, 110-12, 117, 126, 127, 133, 134, 151, 161, 162, 167, 237, 238
Minorsky, V. F.—162
Mironov, N. D.—104, 145, 237-39
Miroshnikov, L. I.—168
Mookerjee, R. K.—175
Moses of Khoren—52
Mukherjee, B. N.—167-69
Müller, Max—61, 98
Munisundara—239
Myall, L.—185, 186

N

Nagarjuna—137-39
Narain, A. K.—165
Narayana-Bhatta—66
Navoi, Alisher—51
Negmatov, N. N.—188

Nehru, Jawaharlal—9, 120, 161, 167
Neveleva, S. L.—181, 182
Nikitin, A.—7, 21, 25, 28, 29, 34, 45
Nizam of Ganja—53
Novikov, N. I.—38-40, 43

O

Obermiller, Y. Y.—140, 142, 152-54
Oldenberg, Hermann—92-94, 106, 107
Oldenburg, S. F.—9, 10, 80, 81, 87, 92, 96, 97, 99, 103-09, 111-25, 127, 132-34, 140, 142, 144-55, 160, 162, 237, 240
Osipov, A. M.—157-59, 166, 176, 178
Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky, D. N.—101, 102

P

Padmapada—239
Palladius—15
Pallas, P. S.—38, 61
Pande G. C.—95, 236
Pandey, R. B.—167
Panini—76, 78, 116
Patanjali—238
Pelliot, Paul—162
Peter the Great—34, 35, 37, 44
Peterson, M. N.—148, 157
Petrov, P. Y.—8, 67-71, 76, 78, 80, 97-99, 103
Petrovsky, N. F.—113, 118, 119, 237, 240
Phadkey, Vasudev Balwant—91
Pigulevskaya, N. V.—178
Pingala—66
Piotrovsky, B. B.—169, 236
Pischel, Richard—107, 110
Polevoi, N. I.—64
Poluboyarinov, N.—36
Popov, A.—100
Potebnya, A. A.—99
Pran, Nath—151
Prasad, Rajendra—126
Prokofyev, O. S.—186
Pugachenkova, G. A.—174, 188, 200, 201
Pujyapada—239

R

Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli—126, 161
Radishchev, A.—8, 39, 43
Radlov, V. V.—105, 119
Raghavan, V.—10, 167, 180
Raghuvira—126
Ramakrishna—107
Ramanuja—239
Ramapala—240
Ranov, V. A.—188, 189
Rao, Gopinatha—106
Rao, S.—171
Ratnapani—238
Ratnashekhara—239
Ravikara—66
Razumovsky, A.—40
Reisner, M. A.—149
Rhys Davids, F. W.—93, 104, 107, 117, 139
Ritschl, Eva—165
Ritter, P. G.—102, 148, 151
Rizhsky, I—61
Roerich, N. K.—145
Roerich, Yu. (G). N.—162, 163, 167
Romanov, V. N.—181
Rosenberg, O. O.—105, 145, 146
Roslavsky-Petrovsky, A.—75
Roth, Rudolf—61, 77, 78, 97, 98, 100
Roy, Bharat Chandra—41
Roy, Ram Mohan—43, 81
Rozen, V. R.—49, 111
Ruben, Walter—137, 165
Rudnev, A.—162
Rudoy, V. I.—134, 186
Rückert, Friedrich—74
Rust'hveli, Shot'ha—53

S

Sahajakushala—239
Sahajapala—239
Sahni, D. R.—190
Saltykov, A. D.—75
Samarkandi, Abdurazzak—51
Samozvantsev, A. M.—175, 176
Sankalia, H. D.—169, 171, 188
Sankrityayana, Rahula—126, 142
Sarianidi V. I.—173, 188
Scherzl, R. I.—100
Scherzl, V. I.—99, 100
Schetelich, Maria—165
Schiefner, A. A.—77, 79
Schlegel, August-Wilhelm—60, 74, 76
Schlegel, Friedrich—60
Schmidt, Johann Yacob—63, 67, 79
Schopenhauer, Artur—130
Schröder, Leopold von—100, 104
Semichov, B. V.—134, 142, 154, 180
Semenzov, V. S.—180, 181
Senart, Emile—93
Senkovsky, O. I.—76
Serebryakov, I. D.—113, 180, 183, 184
Shahamirian, Hakop—55
Shahjahan—32, 33
Shahrukh—24, 51
Shankara—9, 185, 238, 239
Shantideva—96, 240
Sharma, G. R.—167, 168
Sharma, Ram Sharan—157, 160, 166, 167, 182
Shastri, Dharmendranath—126, 138-40, 165
Shastri, Haraprasad—90
Shastri, Haridas—90
Shastri, Nilakantha—172
Shcherbatskoy, F. I.—9, 10, 11, 92, 95-97,

G.M. College of Education
Raipur, Bantalab
Jammu.
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103, 105, 108, 117, 118, 120, 122, 123,
126-46, 148, 149, 151-56, 162, 167
Shchetenko, A. Y.–170, 171
Shishkin, V. V.–185
Shokhin, V. K.–228
Shor, R. O.–99, 155
Shrinivas, M. N.–177
Shudraka–71, 78, 161, 179
Sidorova, V.–186
Sircar, Dinesh Chandra–167, 168
Smirnov, B. L.–152, 179
Smirnov, K. F.–173
Somadeva–112, 184
Speyer, J. S.–117
Sreznevsky, I. I.–82
Staël-Holstein, A.–103, 105
Stavisky, B. Y.–174, 188, 209, 212
Stein, Aurel–134
Sukhanand–35
Suleikin, D. A.–157, 159
Sunghara (Suhara, Sungur)–37, 38

T

Tagore, Dwarkanath–81
Tagore, Rabindranath–9, 78, 103, 106, 154
Tarn, W. W.–165
Telang, K. T.–91
Thapar, B. K.–167, 188, 198, 236
Thapar, Romila–166, 168, 169
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar–91
Timur (Tamerlane)–24, 51, 53
Tolstov, S. P.–216, 217
Tolstoy, Leo–8, 9, 106, 107
Toporov, V. N.–163, 183-86
Trautmann, Thomas R.–165
Trubachov, O. N.–13
Tsybikov, G. Ts.–105, 147
Tubyansky, M. I.–117-18, 120, 123, 142, 148, 150-52, 154
Tulayev, S. I.–186
Turner, G.–92
Tyomkin, E. N.–163, 179, 183

U

Ukrainka, Lesya–107
Uvarov, S. S.–62, 63, 65, 67

V

Vacaspati Mishra–140, 142, 238
Vallée Poussin, Louis de la–94, 95, 110, 117, 134, 137, 139, 140
Varadaraja–141, 152
Vararuci–179, 238
Vasilkov, Y. V.–181, 182
Vasilyev, V. P.–79-81, 95, 104, 110, 111, 117, 129, 140
Vasubandhu–80, 134, 136, 138, 139, 154, 180, 183, 185
Vertogradova, V. V.–164, 179, 184, 186, 212
Veselovsky, A. N.–17, 111
Vidyabhushana, S.–131, 140, 143
Vidyasagara, Jivanand–90
Vigasin, A. A.–174, 175, 177, 178
Vishakhadatta–179
Vishvanatha–69
Vivekananda, Swami–107
Vladimirtsov, B. Y.–99, 121, 145, 152
Volchok, B. Y.–191, 192
Volkova, O. F.–112, 173, 184, 186
Volodarsky, A. I.–184
Vopadeva–77
Vorobyov-Desyatovsky V. S.–160, 179, 237, 240
Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, M. I.–163, 206, 213, 224, 240
Vostrikov, A. I.–142, 154, 163

W

Weber, Albrecht–77, 82, 97, 98
Wheeler Mortimer–165, 170, 171, 191
Whitney, William-Dwight–77
Wilkins, Charles–42
Wilson, Horace–60, 66, 98
Windisch, Ernst–11
Wogihara, U.–134, 140

Y

Yagich, I. V.–74, 99, 101
Yefremov, F.–37
Yelizarenkova, T. Ya.–179, 180, 183, 184, 186

Z

Zadneprovsky, Y. A.–188
Zaleman, Karl Hermann–70
Zaliznyak, A. A.–184
Zeimal, E. V.–174
Zhukovsky, V. A.–17, 74
Ziegenbalg, Bartholome–37

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